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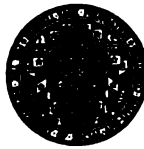


Alfred
1880

THE SETTLEMENT HORIZON

A NATIONAL ESTIMATE

BY
ROBERT A. WOODS
AND
ALBERT J. KENNEDY



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PREFACE

THE writers, who began this study at the suggestion of a representative group of fellow-workers in different parts of the country, have to express their deep appreciation of ready and thorough aid received from nearly all the American settlement houses. Many head residents have given us the fullest value of personal reminiscence and judgment. A large store of significant private data, in addition to every sort of printed matter, has been placed in our hands. Burdensome questionnaires, and a great variety of special inquiries, have been carefully answered. The visits which it has been our privilege to make to not less than four hundred of the five hundred settlements in the United States have kept us continuously in a rare atmosphere of loyalty to settlement aims, while in each instance providing vital information and suggestion in a field of effort qualified so largely by individual vision and power, whether among veterans or recruits. In connection with these visits, frequent opportunity of conference was afforded with men and women who possess that decisive acquaintance with the settlement which comes to its sagacious neighbors.

For the past decade, as joint secretaries of the National Federation of Settlements, we have had the opportunity of arranging for and responsibly participating in its annual meetings and of editing its reports; and have thus enjoyed close association with those giving expression, from year to year, to the most recent developments of specific experience and the most timely precipitants of conviction and purpose. Part of the official duties of the enterprise has been to keep in unbroken communication with staff and board members of neighborhood agencies throughout the United States and in many foreign countries. One of us has at different times visited the original as well as the more recent English establishments, and has had the privilege of seeing something of the new embodiments of settlement motive that are springing up at various points on the continent of Europe and in the Orient.

PREFACE

In addition to all that has come through these more comprehensive undertakings, we are specially indebted to Miss Alice E. Robbins and Miss Elizabeth S. Williams, who, in the early stages of the study, gathered and arranged the results of a systematic inquiry into the work of the numerous and widely suggestive settlements of New York City, a field familiar to them through long and successful experience. Later we served as editors of a productive national inquiry, in which there was the broadest settlement participation, into neighborhood work among adolescent girls. For New York, in organizing and interpreting the material thus collected, we had the valuable assistance of Miss Harriet McD. Daniels.

Dr. Jane E. Robbins has reviewed with special care the story of the beginnings on this side of the water. Miss Ethel W. Dougherty has given the presentation of club work among girls and women the benefit of her wide experience. Professor Henry G. Pearson, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with practised skill has aided in clearing the reader's path of obstacles in expression and substance.

Indispensable assistance at many points has come from association with our immediate colleagues at South End House and from the larger fellowship of the Boston settlements.

Settlement work, though predominantly localized, covers a range of active interests as wide as civilization, all of them in course of development. It will be understood, therefore, that each phase of a subject so many-sided will have bearings that cannot be covered under any one head. We therefore suggest reference to the Index by those who would follow up any specific topic in the settlement program. A selection of authoritative books and articles on the different phases of settlement work is presented in the Bibliography at the end of the volume. For an ordered outline of the work of individual houses our Handbook of Settlements, published in 1910 by the Russell Sage Foundation, should be consulted.

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ORIGINS

CHAPTER I

ANTECEDENTS IN ENGLAND

THE university settlement came as the response of spiritual enlightenment to elemental changes in the life of the English people. It had its origins in the work of some of the foremost moral leaders of the nation, as singly or in rare fellowship they passed in succession through the last century. These men had profound influence in remodeling institutions shaken by the industrial revolution; they played an indispensable part in devising and establishing new forms of collective enterprise. Gradually there was outlined a project which seemed to epitomize all that they proposed. It was one of those conceptions whose simplicity is its power. Though creating in some sort a missionary order of the new humanities, it provided for no apostles; it relied solely upon a discipleship pledged to a way of life. Within two decades this propaganda of deed was commanding the energies of hundreds of loyal companies throughout the English-speaking world.

The especial mark of the historic processes which led up to this development was the endeavor on the part of men of the highest gifts and training to share working-class interests. It was thus that factory legislation had its beginnings. In its early struggles some of the best intelligence of the country joined hands with the labor movement. Recurrent and increasing emphasis was laid upon the necessity of a changed community background for working-class life. Several pioneer efforts were made to establish industrial villages among whose inhabitants obligations based on income and education should traverse all grades and distinctions. In the end it was discovered that the most fertile soil for participation between separated groups lay in the midst of working-class neighborhoods. Here, compassed about by all the problems of advancing democracy, university men might make their home. Here, under im-

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memorial sanctions, might be formed between scholar and toiler the tie of neighbor.

The modern humanitarian movement was made possible by the increased material prosperity which appeared with factory production, even as it was made necessary by evils incident to the new industrial order. Its true impetus, however, came out of the Wesleyan revival, which, during the second half of the eighteenth century, wrought results so elemental in English life. Thoughtful people became more sensitive to the appeal of misery. The achievements of John Howard (1726-1790) in securing progressive prison legislation, and of William Wilberforce (1759-1833) in bringing about the abolition of Negro slavery, helped to revive the old-established tradition of protective legislation for workers. A long series of factory bills, promoted chiefly under the leadership of Lord Shaftesbury (1801-1885), gradually gained for wage-earners a sufficient foothold, in respect of physical vitality, education, and leisure, to make it possible for them to undertake constructive measures of self-help.

While laws restricting the exploitation of laborers were being added to the statute book, Robert Owen (1771-1858), a successful factory manager, was opening up some of the far-reaching possibilities of readjustment which lay in the factory itself and in the mode of life of its whole related personnel. Born of humble parents, Owen rose through his own exertions to ever more responsible positions, bought an interest in his employer's business and married his daughter, thus progressing through the orthodox British degrees toward success.

Owen was far ahead of his time in perceiving that the health and happiness of his operatives and their attitude toward work were important factors in production. He astonished his competitors by raising wages and shortening hours. He reduced child labor to a minimum. Finally he captured the imagination of his force by paying them their wages through a three-month period of unemployment caused by a shortage of cotton.

For the factory village of New Lanark, Owen outlined and enforced wholesome sanitary regulations, supplied skilled medical attendance, opened a model provision store, established a savings bank, and encouraged the organization of a sick-benefit society.

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The possibilities inherent in the rising generation also caught Owen's imagination. He worked out and put into operation a scheme of elementary education which, in its emphasis on freedom, on those physical and mental activities best suited to counteract the effects of machine industry on growth of body and mind, and in its demand that children be prepared to earn as well as to spend a living, has never been bettered. He organized evening classes for adults, provided a village park, a playground, a hall for meetings and dancing, and encouraged wholesome recreation. The combination of good pay, provision for healthy family life, recreation, and a sound public spirit practically eradicated the drunkenness and lawlessness characteristic of mill villages. These experiments at the beginning of industrialism were of epochal significance because they proved conclusively that fair conditions of life were by no means incompatible with profitable industry.

The success of his experiments at New Lanark led Owen to put forth some bold speculations about the causes and cure of vice and poverty. He became convinced that character was largely if not altogether the result of environment and training, and could be formed by a proper system of education. The school, therefore, was always the heart of his broad plans for social regeneration. He also saw the anomaly of a population in danger of starving because machinery enabled goods to be produced faster than they could be consumed. His remedy was a mixed agricultural manufacturing communism organized on a village basis. For he understood the fundamental quality of village organization and its human and associational possibilities as few social philosophers have done. Colonies based on his ideas were founded in Ireland and America, none of which, however, was ultimately successful.

Though the establishment of communistic labor colonies was a chief interest with Owen he gave generous assistance to various other efforts for social reform. He was in a large measure responsible for the Factory Act of 1819, the first in which the state definitely recognized its guardianship of children, and hence one of the most important in the entire series of factory enactments. His school at New Lanark had a profound effect on the development of public education in England and in America. He encouraged groups of workingmen to open co-operative stores as a means of accumulating

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capital with which to found one of his colonies. These stores laid the basis for later growth of consumers' co-operation. He lent his aid to the pioneer trade unions, and the first proposal for a universal eight-hour day came from him. But his great service consisted in forcing operatives and well-to-do alike to look at industry in terms of its effect on the total life of a nation; in pointing out to wage-earners that the determining factor in the new system of industry was not machinery but the principle of association; and in making it clear that they could protect their interests only by learning the mastery of that principle.¹

While Owen was thus engaged in working out his plan of a model mill town, the Scottish divine, Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), at the beginning of his career was bringing to the organization of a city working-class community a remarkable combination of disciplined evangelical fervor, comprehension of economic law, and power of leadership. In 1819, as a partial response to his declaration that twenty new churches were required to care adequately for the people's spiritual life, the Glasgow town council laid off for him a large and needy parish.² Establishing his home in the midst of it, he gathered about him, principally from the parish, a staff of volunteer assistants. He divided the district into twenty-five small neighborhoods, each containing from sixty to one hundred families. To each of these subdivisions he assigned an elder and a deacon; one to look after its spiritual interests, the other to provide for relief of the poor and the education of children. In addition to regular weekday schools, he established here and there throughout the district more than forty small Sunday schools for both religious and secular instruction.

¹ Owen was an autocrat in mind and method, with a basis of theoretical democracy of the eighteenth century sort. His limitations were those of the typical captain of industry—he wanted to create his world *de novo*. His system, founded on village life in New Lanark, was indeed little more than the indefinite multiplication of that community.

All things considered, Owen achieved an astonishing measure of influence even in his own day. The chief opposition to his proposals grew out of his supposed attitude toward religion, which was greatly misjudged. He pointed out the waste and evil involved in sectarianism, and mapped out a kind of church union very similar to that later advocated by Arnold Toynbee. If he could have suppressed some very just but extremely (considering the age) untimely criticism of ecclesiasticism in general, Owen might have carried his plans further. Nevertheless his influence on all classes was very great.

² His ministry in Glasgow extended from 1815 to 1823.

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In everything Chalmers did he insisted upon the necessity and value of thoroughgoing neighborly relations. He went about through his district constantly in order to be on personal terms with all sorts of men, women, and children. "Man," he said, "will at length learn to be more practical and less imaginative. He will hold it to be a worthier achievement to do for a little neighborhood than to devise for a whole world."¹ He urged, in fact, that unless the helpful approach was that of the discerning neighbor, assistance might stifle rather than arouse the initiative of people. His "principle of locality" was a logical outgrowth of his endeavor to be at once human and thorough.

Though limited in his views about many industrial problems by theories of the day, Chalmers held it to be the church's duty to meet new issues which the factory system was projecting into the life of the people. He believed that through the neighborly inclination of each to do his part with all others, every working-class community could become sufficient to its own economic needs and pauperism might be abolished; and he well-nigh proved this contention. His faculty for fresh practical insights into human nature, inseparable from his power of invention and organization in human relations, gave a peculiarly stimulating quality to the influence which he continued to exert during his later career.

The concrete suggestions of Owen and Chalmers for meeting new issues of industrialism found reinforcement in the teachings of two great thinkers. Bred, like Chalmers, in the vigorous Scottish tradition, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) began to unfold a thesis, pieced out of clues drawn primarily from the German philosophers, at the time both novel and intangible. Carlyle taught that society is a moral organism, a living unity and fellowship; that "all social growths in this world have required organizing; and work, the greatest of human interests, does now require it." He challenged with all his power of thought and purpose the national policy of unrestricted competition, of industrial leadership indifferent to the welfare of the industrial army. *Sartor Resartus*, first published in 1833-1834, and *Past and Present* in 1843, exercised a profound in-

¹ *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns*, p. 133. Abridged, with Introduction by C. R. Henderson. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.

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fluence upon the younger generation of leaders who were coming to consciousness of the real state of the nation.

Tendencies thus developing were notably reinforced, especially among conservatives, by the writings of John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), the most broadly human of the classical economists. In his *Political Economy*, published in 1848, Mill challenged the attention of the universities with a demand for the more equitable distribution of wealth. Every phase of his life work, however abstract, is found upon analysis to have been dictated by his desire to see the lot of working people ameliorated. During his last years he exerted a profound influence in the radical reshaping of the national economic purpose.

Meanwhile, reform of factory evils by legislation had been carried triumphantly to the end of its first stage in the Factory Act of 1844, which abolished night work for women and children in spinning and weaving mills; restricted working hours for young persons and women to twelve per day and prohibited their employment on Sunday; reduced working hours of children between the ages of eight and thirteen to six and a half a day, and required that they attend school three hours daily during the first five days of the week. Lord Shaftesbury, the unflagging leader in this legislation, was moved, not by considerations of philosophy or economics, but through the sense of pity and of duty which went with his evangelical faith. He continued to the end of a long life his many-sided activity throughout the congested centers of poverty and ignorance in London, devotedly, and it must be confessed, solemnly, laying the foundations upon which many later and better considered forms of charity and public education were to build.

Caring quite as deeply for the same sort of human beings, Charles Dickens (1812-1870) exemplified toward them always the liveliest sense of comradeship. One of his earliest essays was entitled "The Parish," and this was followed by another on "Our Parish." The scene of nearly all his stories was set amid some group of humble neighbors. By imparting to his readers an abiding feeling of having been in and of every circle of life he depicted, he prepared the minds of large numbers everywhere for more personal approach on their part to the unprivileged of all degrees. Even less moved than Shaftesbury by the historic meanings of a changing order, yet

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by the very accumulation of his influence Dickens affected it in supreme degree. No follower of his failed to have a keener sense of the claim of human nature under stress of poverty and of the elemental virtue and nobility, then hardly suspected, that are the treasures of labor. He was an ardent and vital champion of reform in education, in housing, in the administration of relief, and the care of prisoners. Shaftesbury said, "God gave Charles Dickens a general retainer against all suffering and oppression."

While the upper classes were slowly waking to the extent and seriousness of the suffering brought about by the factory system, the unrest of labor had become intense and widespread. Disappointment that improvement in living and working conditions failed to follow the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, on which so many hopes had been built, and growing distress due to constant crises, created a spirit of revolt which became increasingly self-conscious and vocal during the "hungry forties." The February revolution of 1848 in Paris inflamed workingmen all over the continent and led to profoundly influential demonstrations in the principal industrial cities of Europe, some of which were accompanied by violence. Doubtless the most dramatic and, as it turned out, one of the most far-reaching manifestations in behalf of popular rights in England during the nineteenth century was the attempt on April 10, 1848, to convey to the Houses of Parliament, under escort of a great army of workers, a monster petition in favor of a People's Charter. The chief tenet of this document was manhood suffrage with attendant representation. The government, at once hampering and emphasizing working-class expression, filled London with troops and swore in thousands among the upper and middle classes as special constables.

The threat involved in these several uprisings fixed the attention of the moneyed and governing class of all nations on the seriousness of underlying industrial conditions as nothing else could have done. While the first effect was a conservative reaction, a number of idealistically minded men of education were led, as it were, out of the heart of the revolt, to seek measures of amelioration.

It is significant that the year 1848 saw the birth of the two most influential forms which the modern movement for social reform has taken. Both were in part designated by the word "socialism,"

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which had first appeared in connection with Owen's model communities, and both were to have an influence hardly to be overestimated upon the subsequent progress of democratic civilization.

"The Communist Manifesto" of Marx (1818-1883) and Engels (1820-1895), published early in 1848 in London, contains in germ Marx's broad generalization that the political, legal, and social structure of a nation is an outgrowth of its economic organization. Although based largely on English conditions, this theory was of course in no sense the outcome of an English point of view. His continued study of the results of private control even of the instruments of production led Marx to prophesy the inevitable concentration of capital in the hands of a few, continued overproduction with attendant crises, ever-growing poverty, the rise in self-defense of wage-earners, and the final nationalization of all land, machinery, and capital. Marx and his disciples despaired utterly of things as they were, and centered their energy on the task of securing a solid working-class front for far-reaching and drastic action. The theory of "class struggle," with its watchword, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" represented for many years the sole appeal of what has come to be known as Marxian Socialism. Not until after his death did it, with profound modification, become a direct force in English life.

Christian Socialism was characteristically English, embodying as it did the national genius for compromise. It was less a system of ideas than a moral impulse. Examined closely it turns out to be in the first instance a synthesis of existing beginnings toward social reform. Its exponents were, and continued to be, filially attached to university and church. Perhaps its most important achievements came of the fact that some adherents actually joined working-class organizations and gave time, strength, and money to developing the effectiveness of these bodies and to interpreting their aims to the public. Though it had a relatively brief organized career, its exponents, during the following half century, continued to have a widespread and potent influence in promoting a more just and fraternal ordering of civilization.

The spiritual guide of Christian Socialism was Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872). Influenced directly by Carlyle, and in general by Hegelian teaching as to the organic unity of mankind,

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Maurice set forth the Kingdom of God on earth and among men as at once the basis of Christian doctrine and the touchstone of Christian action. He had the high distinction of drawing about himself perhaps the rarest group of young men to be found in any such personal allegiance during the whole nineteenth century. His wide experience and varied connections doubtless helped to soften the reaction against what, in the late forties and early fifties, must have seemed to the stock British mind a monstrous desertion of class and professional ties on the part of barristers and clergy. The personal reverence which he inspired, and the never-swerving loyalty of his followers, frequently made him appear the creative mind in specific activities to which he was by no means wholeheartedly committed. If in the pioneering stage of the movement this fact drew toward him the onus of public blame, it later brought him, in comparison with others, disproportionate praise.

Next to Maurice, Charles Kingsley (1819-1875) was, because of his power of cogent presentation, the most influential member of the group. But John Malcolm Ludlow, Thomas Hughes, Edward Vansittart Neale, and Frederick James Furnival will always be remembered as having most definitely and persistently carried out the practical proposals of Christian Socialism. While other exponents were soon too absorbed by professional duties to continue active propaganda, these four devoted a large part of their lives to the furtherance, on the basis of educational standards, of working-class organizations.

The beginnings of Christian Socialism go back to 1846, when Ludlow, a law student at Lincoln's Inn, called on Maurice, who had just been appointed its chaplain, for assistance in "bringing to bear the leisure and good feeling of the Inns of Court upon the destitution and vice of the neighborhood." A system of visiting and relief was undertaken by the students which led to their establishing an elementary day and evening school. The men who assumed these duties were in the habit of meeting weekly at the home of Maurice for discussion and religious fellowship. It may be pointed out that this work, carried on in and limited to a neighborhood, was apart from direct parochial connection, and was engaged in by young laymen fresh from the universities. Meanwhile Kingsley, who had been attracted from law to the church largely by the writings of

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Maurice, had fairly begun, in a neglected country parish, a pastorate illustrating in the highest degree the human meaning of Christianity.

The Chartist demonstration of April, 1848, incited the Brotherhood thus formed to a wider range of activity. Fearing a serious outcome, Kingsley had hastened up to London from his parish at Eversley. With Ludlow and Maurice he sought for some way by which the moral impulse behind Chartism might be saved and the church awakened to a realization of its responsibility. The immediate result was a public appeal¹ addressed to the "Workmen of England," pledging assistance of many outside friends and calling the men to a more righteous personal life. An important part of the Christian Socialist program as it began to take form was the allaying of class prejudice through deepening and extending the religious sense of brotherhood and through promoting in new ways the spread of higher standards of culture and conduct.

A penny paper under the editorship of Ludlow was projected, the first number of which appeared on May 6, 1848, with the title, *Politics for the People*. Kingsley's "Parson Lot" articles came out in it, as well as much of the freshest and most forceful writing produced by the group. After seventeen numbers, publication was discontinued. The paper was followed by a series of tracts and a second journal, the *Christian Socialist*. The stimulus of this kind of writing drew from Kingsley two stirring novels, *Yeast*, and *Alton Locke*, Tailor and Poet. The direct and indirect effect of these literary labors in promoting a vital and sympathetic knowledge of the hardships suffered by great numbers of working people can hardly be overestimated.

The unique distinction of the Christian Socialist group was the ingenuity, devotion, and persistence with which members constantly tested their large aims by the close-range demands of actual local situations. Kingsley's bitter experience with disease-breeding ways of life in the cottages of his parish, and with bad drains in his own parsonage, prepared him to discern and led him to set forth in terms of human degradation all that went with neglected and over-

¹ "Maurice is in great excitement. He has sent me to Ludlow, and we are getting out placards for the walls, to speak a word for God with."—Kingsley, Charles: *His Letters and Memories of His Life*, Vol. I, p. 116. London, C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1880.

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crowded tenements. Such teachings, continued year after year, helped to raise the reform of sanitation and housing into public necessities that should be undertaken by municipalities and even by Parliament.¹ Yet when a member of the group, recognizing the importance of organized action, proposed a National Health League, the suggestion was vetoed by Maurice in favor of beginning close at home in an ill-favored neighborhood called Little Ormond Yard; and the Brotherhood until the very end continued to emphasize the moral responsibility of every individual both for drains and conduct.²

In January, 1850, a new practical step was taken by the organization of a Society for Promoting Workingmen's Associations. Ludlow had spent the summer of 1849 in Paris and had come back full of the accomplishments of the Associations Ouvriers. He converted the entire Brotherhood to a system of modified or group capitalism under which workingmen were to own or hire the machinery and money for an enterprise, choose the management from their own number, and divide the returns.³ It was recognized that such undertakings were not immediately adapted to unskilled laborers, nor applicable to industries demanding large capital. The trades selected for experiment, therefore, were tailoring and shoemaking.

The first Co-operative Tailors' Association was formed in February, 1850, with Walter Cooper, a Chartist, as manager. During the following four years a long series of such enterprises were founded. Early shops failed both in productivity and in morale,

¹ Kingsley wrote to Ludlow that then would come, "National Education, Sanitary and Dwelling-House Reform, the Free Sale of Land, and corresponding reform of the Land Laws, moral improvement of the Family relation, public places of Recreation (on which point I am very earnest)" *Opus cit.*, p. 194.

² "God will only reform society on condition of our reforming every man his own self, while the devil is quite ready to help us mend the laws and the Parliament, earth and Heaven, without ever starting such an impertinent and 'personal' request, as that a man should mend himself."—Kingsley, Charles: "Letters to the Chartists" in *Politics for the People*, May 13, 1848.

³ "I certainly thought (and for that matter have never altered my opinion to this day) that here we had found the solution to the great labor question; but I was also convinced that we had nothing to do but just announce it, and found an association or two, in order to convert all England, and usher in the millennium at once, so plain did the whole thing seem to me. I will not undertake to answer for the rest of the Council, but I doubt whether I was at all more sanguine than the majority."—Hughes, Thomas: *Memoir of a Brother*, p. 111. London, Macmillan and Co., 1873.

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called in lectures delivered during 1857 at Manchester, the "political economy of art."

Gradually he wrought out his great thesis that the supreme function of the state is to produce "souls of a good quality," and the supreme duty of its citizens to direct all their powers both as producers and consumers to this end.¹ His attack upon the dominant economic system, which so largely excluded human considerations, brought upon him a storm of criticism; but cheered on by the elder prophet Carlyle, he resolutely applied the test of his principles to one phase after another of contemporary civilization. From this time until the end of a long life he continued to devote his marvelous analytical powers and creative vision to establishing some of the sure foundations of a more just and more beautiful order.²

Ruskin's early criticism of industrialism was reinforced within a decade by an attack from a new angle. Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) pointed out with a wealth of phrase and with varied and pungent insistence, the cultural poverty of modern states. He called for a type of intellectual life sufficiently disinterested to face national shortcomings honestly and fearlessly; and sufficiently well disposed to set about laying foundations for democracy by making "the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere."³

After 1860 the type of opinion represented broadly by Christian Socialism began to come into power at the universities, where, if it lost some of its force and fervor, it gained in range and authority. Kingsley held the chair of modern history at Cambridge from 1860

¹ "There is no wealth but life. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others."—"Unto this Last," Essay IV. First published in *Cornhill Magazine*, November, 1860.

² "The political economy of today is the political economy of John Ruskin, and not the political economy of John Bright or even of John Stuart Mill."—F. York Powell, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. Quoted in *The Works of John Ruskin*, Vol. XVII, p. cxi. London, George Allen, 1905.

³ "It [culture] seeks to do away with classes; to make all live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, and use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely,—to be nourished and not bound by them. This is the *social idea*; and the men of culture are the true apostles of equality."—*Culture and Anarchy: an Essay in Political and Social Criticism*, p. 49. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1869.

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to 1869. Arnold was Professor of Poetry at Oxford from 1857 to 1867. Maurice became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge in 1866 and exercised a far-reaching influence there until his death in 1872. Ruskin was at Oxford from 1870 to 1878, and again in 1883 and 1884 as Slade Professor of the Fine Arts. Such authority at the nation's educational centers greatly strengthened the appeal for cultural democracy, but also laid upon its exponents a distinctive responsibility. The time had arrived when the universities themselves must find some direct contact with industrial issues, when they must come into terms of continuous interchange with working-class life.

As a means to this end the artificially organized community form, which since Plato has fascinated prophets of better days to come, was not without advocates. But as the colony could include only certain select and kindred spirits, and these in an age of reality living segregated in monastic isolation, the theory failed to attract men fitted to deal with its problems. None the less, however, the starting point of all dreams of a higher order remained practically the small geographical area with its inter-related homes and its forms of associated industry. The fact that so many of the reformers mentioned were also teachers of religion definitely reinforced this tendency. Religion, as well as politics, when brought to a human scale, inevitably finds its focus in the small community. In England there was a strong tradition for developing new types of moral enterprise through extension of parish functions.

Such incitement began to stir the mind of an occasional ardent candidate for orders. Maurice had asserted that the quintessence of Christian Socialism was to be found in the combined services of clergy and laity for the whole human welfare of a given parish; and Kingsley at Eversley had made a fresh and inspiring application of Christian purpose to the round of life in a decadent rural community. Growth of dissent, the industrial revolution, and emigration had sapped the ancient vigor of the English parish and broken down that kinship of interest which once made it a coherent and loyal unit. Although many clergymen accepted the situation and merely carried on the stated functions of religion, a few sought to embody in comprehensive achievement those elemental principles of moral statesmanship in which parish organization is

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grounded. The tradition that the rector of a parish should make his home within its bounds was of course unquestioned; and almost as clearly established was the fact that in less favored communities his office should constitute him the first citizen. The new watchword was that he should see in every phase of life about him an avenue for the recovery and exaltation of the human spirit, and for advance of the Kingdom of God upon earth.

Out of the very strength and persistence of the unrest which they represented, and by means of increased educational opportunity, the broad-scale workingmen's organizations had begun to develop trained and responsible officials. Community life in working-class districts, on the contrary, showed no organized expression, no prepared and alert leadership. This was the field which presented itself to disciples of the new teaching among the younger generation not called to the church, but affected by the time-honored English sense for disinterested public service.

CHAPTER 11

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THE middle of the century, for England, ushered in a perilous new era. A clear call arose for a revised and more adequate definition of the public duty of the educated young man. The Liberal Party, which had enfranchised the middle class in 1832, began during the sixties to unfold its program of universal elementary education as the sound basis for increased extension of suffrage. The Conservatives had opposed the earlier Liberal policy of laissez faire by carrying through the factory acts. Christian Socialists had laid down some of the principles which must guide the new order of industrial society; and they were applying the gifts of statesmanship within certain working-class organizations. Their example and influence were having a profound effect upon a growing number of workingmen leaders.

At the universities the question now was asked: How can the spiritual possessions of those favored by education be introduced into the ordinary currents of wage-earning acquaintance and intercourse? This query led to two undertakings, each redolent of the university and each proposing to carry its motive into the actual round of life in great industrial strongholds. One undertook to embody in a far-reaching system the purpose of the Workingmen's College for broader training of leaders. The other sought rather to come at the physical and moral foundations of well-being among the rank and file.

As early as 1867, James Stuart (1843-1913), then a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, began the extension of university teaching by giving courses of lectures under definite academical standards in manufacturing towns. In 1873 he was able to secure the adoption of the plan by Cambridge University; and within a short time this service had so clearly proved its value that extension lectures were undertaken by Oxford and London universities.

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A channel was thus opened for an entirely novel form of contact between representatives of the centers of culture and communities of working people.

From Oxford, fostering home of great sentiments, the movement across class lines assumed a more personal and a more objective form in the work of the first actual settlement pioneer, Edward Denison (1840-1870). Denison, coming deeply under the influence of Ruskin, had swung into the now broadening current of intellectual sympathy with the aims and hopes of workingmen.¹ Looking forward to a career in the House of Commons, of which his uncle was speaker, he decided that as part of his preparation for meeting new human issues he must have some measure of personal acquaintance with the life of toil and poverty. He therefore offered his services to the London Society for the Relief of Distress, which assigned to him duties in connection with one of its East End branches.

Faithfully as he followed out the tasks appointed to him, he was very far from being blind to the fact that the causes of suffering were deeper than any distress he sought to relieve. Under the date of October 16, 1866, he writes: "These bread and meat doles are only doing the work of the poor-rates, and are perfectly useless; the chief use of this Society and of many others, in my view, consists in bringing a considerable number of persons belonging to the upper classes in actual contact with the misery of their fellow citizens, and so convincing them of the necessity of social reform."² In 1867, the second year of a prolonged period of industrial depression, Denison resolved to make his abode in the district where

¹ The reality of this feeling is attested in a letter written from Lausanne, September 22, 1866, in which after some observations on the International Congress of Workmen which had just met in Geneva, he wrote: "There is no good putting one's head behind a stone—martial power has had its turn—money power has had its turn—labor power is now about to have its turn. The transfer of power from the noble lord in Rotten Row to the bald-headed man on top of the 'bus has not ruined the country, nor deprived the august equestrian of any power which he has shown himself worthy of possessing and capable of wielding. The transfer of power from the bald-headed man on top of the 'bus to the man in fustian on the pavement will not be attended with more disastrous consequences. Whether or no the transfer is about to be effected, and it must therefore be for the good of the country that its rulers should be as well informed as possible."—Sir Baldwyn Leighton, Ed., *Letters and Other Writings of the Late Edward Denison*, M. P. for Newark, pp. 19-20. London, R. Bentley and Son, 1872.

² *Opus cit.*, p. 21.

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he worked as a visitor. In August, therefore, he took lodgings at 49 Philpot Street, Stepney.

Experience quickly showed Denison how large were the opportunities in such districts for a citizen with time to give to public affairs. "My opinion of the great sphere of usefulness to which I should find myself admitted by coming to live here," he writes on August 7, 1867, "is completely justified. All is yet in embryo—but it will grow. Just now I only teach in a night school, and do what in me lies in looking after the sick, keeping an eye upon nuisances and the like, seeing that the local authorities keep up to their work. I go tomorrow before the Board at the workhouse, to compel the removal to the infirmary of a man who ought to have been there already. I shall drive the sanitary inspector to put the Act against overcrowding in force, with regard to some houses in which there have been as many as eight and ten bodies occupying one room. It is not surprising that the street in which this occurs has for months been full of small-pox, scarlet fever and typhus. . . . These are the sort of evils which, where there are no resident gentry, grow to a height almost incredible, and on which the remedial influence of the mere presence of a gentleman known to be on the alert is inestimable."¹

Denison soon came to see that men could best be helped by providing them with means of self-help. "I have been busy and muddled and worried lately," he writes under date of December 24, 1867. "Things are so bad down here, and giving money away only makes them worse. I am beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake, and that the real thing is to let things work themselves straight; whereas by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked. Build school-houses, pay teachers, give prizes, frame workmen's clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains; but give them no money, except what you sink in such undertakings as above."² In Denison's approach to the problem of poverty and neighborhood breakdown there can be clearly traced, perhaps for the first time, the suggestion that an initial step in the recovery of decayed neighborhoods must be to bring into residence, in addition to the clergy, certain laymen representing the spirit of *noblesse oblige*.

¹ Opus cit., p. 37.

² Opus cit., p. 59.

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The inherent sanity of Denison's purposes secured a significant response from the clergy. It went indeed with the motives which brought him to Stepney that Denison should have encountered a kindred spirit in the local vicar, John Richard Green (1837-1883), who was maturing the point of view for his great study of democratic origins in his *History of the English People*.¹ Green later confessed that he had feared the newcomer would prove only one more person given to descending on a parish for the purpose of instructing the incumbent how best to manage it. But after Denison had shown himself determined to acquire a thoroughgoing grasp of the local situation, Green joined forces with him in the fullest degree.

The inherent possibilities in Denison's venture were fully and sympathetically appreciated by Ruskin, who was seeking a living expression for his economic message. Two of his enterprises bore a similarity to Denison's, seen from different angles. In 1864 Octavia Hill (1838-1912) had applied to him for assistance in her scheme to improve sanitary and moral conditions in tenements through the influence of "lady rent-collectors," some of whom made their abode in the houses where their work lay. Ruskin at once placed a portion of his property under her care and followed the undertaking with keen and helpful interest. During these years, also, Ruskin was maturing his vision of St. George's Guild as a pattern of mutual service and loyalty among the more and less favored;² though it was not until some years later that it took form in a small agricultural community, with interesting industrial offshoots.³

It was natural, therefore, that Denison and Green should meet with Ruskin and a few others to consult about the new effort in Stepney.⁴ At the time it was agreed that other young men should

¹ 4 Vols. London, Macmillan and Co., 1877.

² The Guild and Museum of St. George. The Works of John Ruskin, Vol. XXX. London, George Allen, 1907.

³ Another experiment of this same sort in right community relations was developing in the mind of Thomas Hughes, who had an important part in establishing a colony in Rugby, Tennessee, in 1880. See Hughes, Thomas: *Rugby, Tennessee: Being Some Account of the Settlement Founded on the Cumberland Plateau*. London, Macmillan and Co., 1881.

⁴ One of those present wrote: "The proposal commended itself to us mainly as establishing men of culture to influence the life of these parts by working on local

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be invited to join Denison and form a colony. The university settlement thus came near to being founded in 1868 instead of in 1884. Only the failure of Denison's health within the year prevented such a definite and organized beginning.

The source of Denison's influence lay in his qualities of open-mindedness, sincerity, and modesty, combined with a sterling sense for all the implied obligations of citizenship. Although a forerunner, he mapped out the ground and forecasted important lines of action developed by his successors. More immediately concerned with relief of the poor than with assisting working people to organize their own lives happily and productively, his influence was yet wholly toward democracy. His insistence on the thoroughgoing treatment of poverty, on general popular education, on the need of civic leadership in working-class communities, and on association between rich and poor in order that each might mutually and vitally influence the other, was destined to establish the fundamental tenets of a new form of social faith.

After Denison's death in 1870, an effort was made by Edmund Hollond¹ (1841-1900), who had taken part in the conference at Ruskin's house, to continue his work. Hollond lived for a time at Stepney, and for several years was influential in developing larger plans for the improvement of conditions in East London. He was one of the founders in 1869 of the Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity, later changed to Charity Organization Society, which among its cardinal points definitely established Chalmers' "principle of locality" in connection with the administration of relief.

Meanwhile, the current of influence toward democratic neighborhoods, to do which they were to become rate payers. Those were the days when the work in East London was almost wholly religious, in the common conception of the term. There was not the same outlet then for the philanthropy of men who, whatever their religious views, may choose the field of non-religious work."—Brooke, Lambert: Jacob's Answer to Esau's Cry. *Contemporary Review*, Vol. XLVI, p. 377, September, 1884.

¹ "Hollond was a Cambridge man, and a member of a wealthy family. His father was the Squire of Saxmundham, in Suffolk, and a prominent member of the Evangelical party. He was a friend of Denison's at Cambridge, and, on the latter's death, went to live in Stepney, on the borders of Whitechapel. He helped A. H. Hill in the Labor News, and identified himself with the beginnings of the Charity Organization Movement. He wrote many letters on the condition of the poor and on means of relief and articles on political economy."—From a letter of Canon Barnett's to the authors.

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borliness, along with an increasing sense for reality in religious thought within the formal limits of the church, was steadily rising. The first important teacher and exemplar of this point of view was William H. Fremantle (1831-1916), who became vicar of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London, in 1866. His book, *The World as the Subject of Redemption*,¹ brought to great numbers of clergy and to many laymen the first teaching which presented life in its entirety as the field of Christian service and opportunity. It contains one of the clearest and most appealing statements ever written on the parish as a community, and the duty of the church to minister to all sorts of human needs and to elicit the assistance of all men of goodwill.²

In 1867 Fremantle selected for curate a recent Oxford graduate, in whom to a peculiar degree the tendencies which have been traced were to be fulfilled. This man was Samuel A. Barnett (1844-1913), who a little later deliberately sought one of the neediest parishes in London in which to spend his life in a ministry of all that was pure and lovely and of good report. It was he who finally created the agency by which there could be a continuous supply of young university men living and serving in working-class communities. Besides expressing in word and act the fulness of the Christian Socialist message, from the beginning he undertook to apply directly Ruskin's teaching that art must be made the treasure of the people.

In the course of his duties as curate at St. Mary's, Barnett was able to be of assistance to Miss Hill, whose little book, *The Homes of the London Poor*,³ published a year or two later, was soon recognized as a classic by all who were seeking to pass beyond the relief of distress to its prevention. His marriage in 1873 to Henrietta Octavia Rowland, one of Miss Hill's active young co-workers, was a true union of mind and purpose. Miss Hill and Mrs. Barnett, to each of whom has come the very highest distinction for far-reaching lifelong service, stand as pioneers in a luminous line of women dedicated to modern forms of constructive social work.

In 1872, at the suggestion of Hollond and spurred rather than

¹ London, Rivingtons, 1885.

² Opus cit. See especially Note XXV, "The Parish as a Church," pp. 428-33.

³ London, Macmillan and Co., 1875.

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daunted by the Bishop of London's statement that it was the wretchedest parish in the diocese, Barnett accepted the vicarage of St. Jude's, Whitechapel. He at once undertook the reorganization of poor relief, public and private, and made Whitechapel an important center of the recently established Charity Organization Society. He reopened the parish school, and provided for evening as well as for day sessions, an educational work that became a vital medium of influence throughout the neighborhood. Proceeding quietly to bring about the disintegration of the worst nests of crime and debauchery, he instituted systematic measures for the protection of girls and women. The summer outings in the country that he set on foot laid the foundation of the London Children's Country Holidays Fund.

Not only because he wished to develop a ministry of all the higher sentiments of life, but because there were so many apparently humble and even repellent tasks which, as he saw them, required and gave scope for highly trained capacity, Barnett took up, almost where Denison and Hollond left it, the enlisting of young laymen from the universities. He visited Oxford at frequent intervals for the sake of putting details of life in East London before young collegians and of engaging their active interest. In this effort Dr. Benjamin Jowett, master of Balliol, lent his assistance; and it was on one of these excursions that Barnett first met Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883).

Toynbee, whose rare charm of mind and spirit was combined with a high zest for moral initiative, entered Oxford in 1873 and spent the five following years as an undergraduate at Pembroke and Balliol Colleges. He became a favorite pupil of Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882), who was both inspiring professor of philosophy at the University and faithful member of the Oxford Town Council. Under Ruskin's prompting, Toynbee joined a group of students who undertook to mend a road running out of Oxford, so as to express the nobility of even the coarsest labor. Because of fragile health he was made foreman of the gang. Leader of the finest spirits, he was so constantly to the front in urging some new enterprise in ethics and religion that he was called, only half in jest, the Apostle Arnold.

Through his acquaintance with Barnett, Toynbee on different

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occasions became a guest at St. Jude's vicarage.¹ During the summer of 1875 he took lodgings nearby, participated in the club and guild work of the parish, and acted as a visitor for the Charity Organization Society. Seeking other and more direct approaches to workingmen he joined an independent society called the Tower Hamlets Radical Club. He easily made common cause with fellow members in politics but was greatly disturbed by their outspoken antagonism to religion. Speaking before this club upon industrial and religious questions, he began to feel in himself, with the stir of discovery, both inclination and power to go before other such groups on a mission partly like that of the Christian Socialists and partly like that of University Extension lecturers. His experience in East London, though limited, dominated his few but fruitful years of active service.

In October, 1878, he became a lecturer and tutor at Balliol, superintending studies in history and political economy of men who, having passed for the Indian Civil Service, came up to Oxford for a year or two before being sent to the East. At this period, according to Dr. Jowett, "he lived in half-furnished lodgings as far as he could after the manner of working-men, joining in their clubs, discussing with them (sometimes in an atmosphere of bad whiskey, bad tobacco, bad drainage) things material and spiritual—the laws of nature and of God." He became a poor-law guardian, lent some assistance in managing the Oxford co-operative stores, organized a class of workmen which frequently met on Sunday evenings at his rooms, and once offered himself as a candidate for the town council.

In 1880 he gave a series of university extension lectures on economic subjects before popular audiences in different cities, and was encouraged by his success to deliver other courses in 1881 and 1882. He agreed, in 1883, to give several addresses in criticism of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* at St. Andrew's Hall, Newman Street, London. After the second lecture he was seized with

¹ "I first saw Arnold Toynbee in 1874, his sister being a school-fellow of Mrs. Barnett's. He came at odd times to stay with us at Whitechapel, sometimes for a night, but never for any long period. He did this at various times during the seventies, and tried a lodging in Commercial Road. But he found the noise too trying, and did not occupy it for more than a week or two."—From a letter of Canon Barnett's to the authors.

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an illness which proved so serious that he had to return to his home in Wimbledon. There, on March 9, he died in his thirty-first year.

Toynbee believed in and cared for working people as men and women, and was eager that they should inherit all good and beautiful things. While devoutly religious, his Christianity reached its depths in the search for universal fellowship rather than in dogmatic forms. His contribution to the settlement lies in his insistence upon the spread of reciprocal first-hand contact between university and working men for fulfilment of the life of each as well as for salvation of the nation. This note had been struck before, but Toynbee re-echoed it with peculiar fulness and sweetness. In the minds and hearts of devoted student friends at Oxford it grew into a haunting strain.

Meanwhile, Barnett's efforts in other ways to secure a kindling interest on the part of Oxford men in the life of East London had been increasingly successful. The hospitality of the vicarage began to prove inadequate to demands made upon it, and rooms had to be found in the neighborhood.¹ Assisted by some of these envoys, he had undertaken, in 1876, to secure the benefits of a university extension center for Whitechapel. Although the initial movement came from St. Jude's, it was kept free from sectarian influence, and in October, 1877, the Tower Hamlets Branch of the newly organized London University Extension Society was formed.

The unprecedented experiment of university lectures in Whitechapel precipitated a newspaper discussion about the utility of the higher education for working people, and this controversy became of almost national importance. Not at all deterred by the doubts expressed, Barnett proceeded to carry further the logic of university extension by establishing an annual Whitechapel Picture Exhibition. Parallel with these activities, thoughtful men and

¹ "It was our custom before the establishment of the settlement, to have frequent guests from Oxford staying in the vicarage. They came generally for very short times, and made themselves useful in all sorts of directions. Five or six took lodgings, as Toynbee did (among whom were James Bonar, a well known economist and master of the Mint in Montreal; N. C. Chalmers, now permanent secretary at the Treasury; F. C. Mills, who moved into the Friary and lived on many years; and E. L. Leonard, who went down with us in 1873 and laid the foundation of the C.O.S. work on human lines). Few men stayed for any length of time. It was because many showed this disposition to take up residence that first of all the little place called 'The Friary' was established, and subsequently Toynbee Hall."—From a letter of Canon Barnett's to the authors.

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women were developing a comprehensive policy for dealing with the crude handicaps of life in the district. Provisions of the Artisans' Dwelling Act¹ were enforced; model houses were erected; new tenements brought under Miss Hill's direction; a café company organized to combat the drink evil.

Thus did Barnett begin to give form and substance to the conception whose high antecedents we have traced. This plan called for nothing less than reconstruction of the conditions and interests of an entire neglected city district after a pattern compacted of what was best in English civilization in its different elements, including all of them, omitting none. It called for help from some of the nation's chief sources of power. It gave intimations of a tendency which might lift many a local community throughout the nation to a distinctly higher fulfilment of the collective well-being.

The opportunity to make a definite draft upon the universities which Barnett had long desired came in 1883. A group of young men at St. John's College, Cambridge, asked assistance in outlining and starting an educational institution for working people which, unlike the missions established by schools and individual colleges, should not be sectarian. Barnett in a letter pointed out to them that English local government is based on the assumption of a responsible privileged class, and suggested that a complement of educated people be provided artificially in those regions where the movement of modern civilization had drawn off the resourceful citizenship of the district. He advised that a house be hired where men could live for longer or shorter periods and study the life and problems of an industrial neighborhood, in order to gain that close personal acquaintance with individuals which must precede any wise public action for meeting working-class needs. This letter, expanded into a paper and read at St. John's College, Oxford, is the charter of the settlements. Its keynote is in the following quotation: "Many have been the schemes of reform I have known, but, out of eleven years' experience, I would say that none touches the root of evil which does not bring *helper and helped into friendly relations*. Vain will be higher education, music, art, or even the Gospel, unless they come clothed in the life of brother man—it

¹ Passed by Parliament in 1875, partly as a result of the work of Miss Hill.

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took the Life to make God known.' Vain, too, will be sanitary legislations and model dwellings, unless the outcast are by friendly hands brought in one by one to habits of cleanliness and order, to thoughts of righteousness and peace. 'What will save East London?' asked one of our University visitors of his master. 'The destruction of West London,' was the answer and, in so far as he meant the abolition of the influences which divide rich and poor, the answer was right. Not until the habits of the rich are changed, and they are again content to breathe the same air and walk the same streets as the poor, will East London be 'saved.' Meantime, a settlement of University men will do a little to remove the inequalities of life, as the settlers share their best with the poor and learn through feeling how they live."¹

Response to this summons was immediate. An organization was formed, representing both universities, to raise money for establishing the proposed settlement. As the death of Arnold Toynbee was still fresh in the minds of his friends, it was suggested that the new house bear his name. After the university manner Barnett was called the warden. A small group of men, moved by an ardent and new kind of devotion and not without a touch of the Englishman's sporting spirit, took up residence in Whitechapel, availing themselves of improvised quarters in a disused public house. Ground was soon secured adjoining St. Jude's, a building was erected, and on Christmas Eve, 1884, residents first slept in Toynbee Hall.

The germinating power of the idea, and all the new contrasts and harmonies which its expression set free, had an instant effect upon the finer minds among different resourceful groups and led to establishment of similar colonies in a number of dreary London districts. The new power of devotion and aspiration which earlier in the century had come of the Oxford movement, so remarkable in quickening the inner life of the established church, was beginning definitely to seek its secular application. Oxford House (1884) in Bethnal Green was opened only a few months after the establishment of Toynbee Hall. The Women's University Settlement (1887)

¹ From "Settlements of University Men in Great Towns." (A paper read at St. John's College, Oxford, November, 1883.) *Practicable Socialism*, New Series, pp. 104-05. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1915.

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in Southwark, representing newly established colleges for women at Oxford and Cambridge, followed hard after. Mansfield House (1890) in Canning Town, four miles down the river, became the outpost of the spiritual descendants of Puritans who had lately regained an institutional foothold at Oxford. University Hall (1890) was established under Unitarian auspices by Mrs. Humphry Ward. Bermondsey Settlement was founded (1891) under Wesleyan leadership; and Newman House (1891) by Roman Catholics.

It was recognized at once among thoughtful Englishmen generally, that this unexampled enterprise was a matter of high potential significance for the nation's unfolding moral life. Aside from direct service to all human needs within a neglected community, the settlements gave hope that friendly relations between separated classes might come about. The incipient program seemed so pregnant with significance that the idea began to be considered in its widest implications. It was wholly natural that some of the pioneers should meet with Barnett at St. Jude's and set forth, under the form of a radically remodeled established church, the conception of a hospitable spiritual fellowship including all people of goodwill from parish to parish, which should constitute "the whole nation organized for righteousness."

Across the ocean, almost immediately a feeling was precipitated that the settlement was a genuine and highly important creation which, properly adapted to American conditions, could provide a new and inspiring avenue for freer and wider dissemination of the services of higher education, and a peculiarly hopeful approach to great new problems of American cities which the American mind had hardly yet envisaged.

The fact that groups representing the best product of the universities had established themselves in neglected backgrounds of London to be neighbors and fellow-citizens, there to develop skill in study and service; to reinforce the agencies of sanitation, of charity, and of education; to give fine and varied form to the pursuit of recreation; to enter into direct and sympathetic interchange with the spokesmen of industrial unrest and to take the chances of the local political reformer; to seek to elicit for better things the collective and corporate initiative of the people, made an invincible appeal to the combined spirit of culture and of moral

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adventure which was coming to be quite as eager in American life as in the maturer civilization of the mother country.

To inquirers from the chief centers of population in the United States with their baffling confusion of religious and racial loyalties, Toynbee Hall was a particularly reassuring example. Not only were its generous avenues of service being entered by workers of various forms of faith, but its residents had at once included in their sphere of influence the large Irish colony along the nearby docks, as well as Russian Jews, who, almost under the eaves of the settlement, were at that moment beginning to make Whitechapel no less than New York's lower East Side, their own.

CHAPTER III

AMERICAN BACKGROUND

IT WAS clear that the settlement expressed a certain feudal tradition and asserted profound inequalities among citizens in the very act of traversing them. Responsible Americans could hardly have espoused the project had they not been convinced that radically new departures in the direction of collective responsibility had come to be essential to national well-being. The keen self-sufficiency of the individual citizen, carried to its extreme amid the needs and possibilities of pioneer days and wrought into the fiber of our institutions, had begun on the one hand to overreach itself, and on the other to break down.

The tendencies which produced this result, and the reaction of moral forces of the community upon them, in this country are not to be traced in gradual and cumulative succession, as are corresponding factors in the classic land of modern industry, with its homogeneous population, its matured cultural and religious systems, and its gradually unfolding type of democracy. Industrialism in America came to full expression within a period of two decades, bringing in its train overwhelming and unprecedented political and moral problems. It was, however, America's good fortune to be spared many of the evils which in England accompanied the change from manual labor to machinery. A considerable share of the national inventiveness was expended in devising and perfecting farm machinery, the results of which strengthened rather than hindered our dominant individualism. In industry, successive waves of immigration served to reduce labor friction by providing new recruits continuously to perform the more disagreeable kinds of work.

While there have been numerous individual prophetic leaders making powerful appeals on behalf of specific causes, there has been no such continuing succession of statesmanlike reformers,

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embodying the meaning and progress of a new human order, as England presents. It is to be noted, also, that although the American situation needed precisely what the settlement offered, and although many phases of American experience prepared the way for some such stroke of invention, it yet had to be discovered for us through the moral initiative of an industrial order both more experienced and more hard pressed.

None the less the essence of communal responsibility and control in this country was strongly alive, drawing its energy from the deepest roots of national existence. The Puritan tradition of moralized community action, New England village life out of which the fabric of our civilization was built, the town-meeting which contains the germ of American government, supplied motives the authority and power of which were everywhere felt. New England transcendentalism as interpreted by Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) infused deeply into American thought the same great principles which Carlyle was so aggressively expounding. Emphasizing the forgotten first tenet of democracy, "perfectibility of human nature," and carrying it to its culmination in the broadest human fellowship, this general teaching led to the founding of several ideal village communities, of which Brook Farm¹ was the best known; inspired the ever more fully developing system of universal education wrought out by Horace Mann (1796-1859); brought about manifold scattered enterprise in charity and philanthropy; suggested the sympathetic overtures made to the incipient labor movement by William Ellery Channing (1780-1842) and Theodore Parker (1810-1860); and finally created the seemingly chimerical agitation for the abolition of slavery under the lead of William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879) and Wendell Phillips (1811-1884).

Precipitation of civil war as a means of solving the problem of slavery created a well-nigh complete and absolute diversion from the nation's own inherent and organic problems to one which in a sense had been artificially foisted upon it. The normal development of all issues involved in industrialism was thus delayed almost a generation. But the great common experience of the war had a profoundly humanizing influence upon the spirit of the people. Democracy came to be more than a political faith. The broad

¹ 1842-1847.

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principle of solidarity in human terms was now finally placed on a footing with liberty itself.

In some respects the moral momentum of abolition projected itself definitely into issues of the future. The anti-slavery poems of John Greenleaf Whittier (1808-1893) and James Russell Lowell (1819-1891) often strikingly suited the mood of the following decades. Phillips found it a natural step to turn at the close of the war from the labor system of the South to the problem of factory employes of the North. The fact that the Anti-Slavery Society, formed in 1833, could be dissolved in 1870, its end accomplished, strongly reinforced the belief that there were grounds for Utopian hopes in American life. This reassurance not only gathered up and established conclusively the fundamental principles of human rights, but in a special degree it made consideration for human welfare an inseparable factor in the temper and spirit of the nation.

That balancing of the Puritan sentiment for reform by all that goes with the spirit of unaffected good fellowship which is so typically American found its completest and noblest expression in Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865). The natural democracy bred of the pioneering spirit, the typical capacity for, and delight in, neighborliness which characterizes the frontier, each is found at its best in him. With a special innate capacity for individualizing men and women, finding the deepest satisfaction in being among people of whatever sort or degree; sacrificing his own interest in ways small or large, almost without consciousness of personal cost; holding easily in his mind an inexhaustible range of decisive anecdote through which, by homely, humorous phrase, he brought into every situation the living spirit of human kind; he was a reformer because he was first and always one of the neighbors.

Could Lincoln have lived a decade longer, his influence would no doubt have moderated the public mind, made rigid to a degree by the appalling struggle for the preservation of the Union and filled with a formal vision of established nationality. Out of the unhappy reconstruction period, however, there came the sense of continued responsibility for the freedman. The time had arrived when to the conscience of the North the Negro ceased being a cause and became a person. From this turn in affairs dates one of the most suggestive of American humanitarian undertakings, the establish-

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ment of schools designed especially to train young colored men and women for community leadership among their own people. Most to be remembered in this connection is that knightly character, General Samuel C. Armstrong (1839-1893), of Hampton Institute in Virginia.

The unparalleled resources of the country for higher education began now to come fully into existence. Hundreds of colleges were either newly established or strongly reinforced, principally by various branches of the church. Provision was thus deliberately made for the trained, adaptable initiative which the protean growth of the country was demanding. Prosperous citizens showed themselves ready in a way new to the world to furnish funds for wide expansion of advanced educational privilege. They builded better than they knew. They did not realize how different a generation would come upon the scene, after modern enlightenment had begun to have its effect, and had descried the full range of the issues of democracy. The old patriotism, in its eagerness for a large increase of liberally educated men and women, was unwittingly opening the way to the new.

The historic achievement of the third quarter of the century, however, was the opening of the West. The movement of population into the fertile unoccupied lands of the Mississippi Valley and across plain and mountain to the shores of the Pacific Ocean called out in high degree that vital flux of economic and moral enterprise which is typically American. It cannot, however, be left out of account that the building of this new part of the national fabric and the prodigious material opportunities thus presented to the nation as a whole, drew deeply upon energies which would otherwise have gone toward meeting new issues in the established communities of the East. Such loss, however, was more than offset by the broader sense of fraternity contributed by this later generation of pioneers to the national character.

Meanwhile, beginning immediately after the war, industrialism and the growth of population, in a baffling complication, were changing the face of American civilization in the East. The way had been fully opened for vast industries insistently stimulated by the seemingly unlimited resources of the country. The years between 1880 and 1890 showed all the marks of the modern economic

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order. The number of employes and the value of products became twice that of the previous decade. Capital was massed and industrial management concentrated in the hands of a relatively decreasing number of leaders. Such an expansion of industry within so short a time could obviously have been accomplished only by means of an easily available and practically unlimited supply of labor. During the twenty years preceding the new century nearly 9,000,000 immigrants sought our shores, or as many as had entered the country during the previous six decades. The change in the racial character of immigration which began about 1890 greatly intensified the difficulties of national assimilation. In many cases whole districts passed in a few years from the Irish, who were typical of the early influx, to the Russian Jews, who as they landed represented the extreme of all that was in contrast with the American way of life. The need of a determined and far-reaching policy of assimilation was vaguely felt, although a strangely hypnotic optimism, a sense of "manifest destiny" prevented any adequate realization of the nature and difficulty of the task.¹

Here, then, in a country whose dearest tradition was a common sentiment of loyalty among citizens as each confidently pursued his individual enterprise of well-being, were great segments of population at the chief centers of the nation set apart from the older elements of our citizenship. The more capable and adventurous among the native population rose rapidly to positions of unprecedented financial power; while the opportunities of American life became relatively less available to the people as a whole. The result was an anomalous class system based predominantly on income, embittered by prejudices of instinct and tradition, and becoming only more real as its existence was patriotically denied.

It was inevitable that such cleavage in status and sentiment should soon express itself in ways that were disturbing. The rise of the Knights of Labor during the late seventies, under an emotional impulse, banded together skilled and unskilled workers indiscriminately in local territorial units.² The recurrent conflicts between

¹ Fiske, John: *American Political Ideas*, pp. 101-52. New York, Harper and Bros., 1885.

² Hoxie, R. F.: *Trade Unionism in the United States*, p. 86. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1917.

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capital and labor which followed seemed to the great body of citizens a thing unconscionable. The railroad strikes of 1877 taken together almost reached the intensity and dimension of a revolt. Revolutionary socialism began to appear in American cities. The Chicago riot of 1886, brought on under the leadership of a group of anarchists and resulting in the death of several police officers, registered in an extreme degree the presence of seeds of a new kind of internal strife, growth of which might cleave the very joints and marrow of our civilization.

The rise of industrialism manifested itself in our cities, as in British urban communities, by a progressively low standard of living, congestion of families in tenements, and crowding of houses on land, unemployment, nesting of vice near the homes of those least able to protect themselves, widespread misery recurring like an epidemic after every trade depression, and increasing isolation of well-to-do and poor from each other. A large part of each successive wave of immigrants sunk back more helplessly into the meanest streets and into houses that became less and less fit for human abode. Here they were left in solid masses, so far as their welfare as citizens was concerned, to shift as they might. This residual population, living in clan formation, became the fertile soil in which a uniquely powerful and corrupting political régime, with the complicity of various business interests, developed a type of municipal administration more degraded than any other civilized nation in modern times has known.

In the retrospect it seems almost inconceivable that up to 1885 only a few of all the responsible leaders in different walks of life were conscious that there was, in any real sense of the term, a social question. Every attempt at association among laborers was looked upon as an irrelevant and dangerous intrusion from out the decaying civilization of Europe. The thought of any form of control over industry and commerce by government, except through a protective tariff, was hardly in the national mind. That the municipality should assume responsibility for conditions under which its citizens lived, aside from elementary defense against disease and disorder, was considered subversive of the principles under which alone American citizenship could thrive. It was still a matter of settled public confidence that the opportunities of Ameri-

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can life were sufficient for everyone and would satisfactorily assure national well-being. It is suggestive of the state of the times that Francis A. Walker, whose volume *The Wages Question*,¹ issued in 1876, contains one of the earliest and best statements in favor of the principle of association among workingmen, should have been even among economists a voice crying in the wilderness, and that appreciation of his book in this country should have spread as a reflection of praise more freely bestowed in England.²

Against the threat involved in the labor problem in general, serious and enlightened thought was appearing. An occasional suggestion arose that some new way must be found by which the old-time personal interchange between master-workman and journeyman could be restored. But the sweating system in the large cities under which great numbers of men, women, and children turned homes into workshops, as yet met with only an occasional protest.

So deep-seated had corruption of city government become that large numbers of otherwise patriotic people viewed politics with settled cynical indifference, while others sought to forget that such a thing existed, quite as honorable women have for ages ignored the fact of prostitution. The underlying nature of the difficulty had been vaguely suggested by several unsuccessful campaigns to secure a business man's government. Every effort toward reform on this basis was baffled by a detailed and comprehensive system of political patronage which readily exploited the needs and loyalties of hand workers and immigrant voters.

A responsible order of society, amid such a complication of evils, instinctively turns to its agencies of religion and education. The Protestant churches, maintained by established elements in the population, either had removed entirely as immigrants came in,

¹ *Wages Question*; a treatise on wages and the wages class. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1876.

² Walker, in 1891, indicated his conviction that American economists had been more arbitrary than the English in their use of assumptions based on the "economic man," and in the degree to which they pressed the doctrine of *laissez faire*. See "Political Economy in the United States," *Fortnightly Review*, 1880. Essays, p. 154ff.

The reader is also referred to Mrs. Florence Kelley's pungent account of the state of academic instruction in economics and sociology in the United States: *Modern Industry in Relation to the Family, Health, Education, Morality*, pp. 81-82 New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1914.

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or had remained in the guise of missions holding the loyalty of a steadily decreasing number of families, and often creating resentment when they sought to exert any influence, however fairly intended, upon the community as a whole. By a sad irony, in numerous instances the church had thus become in a sense an anti-social influence. It was held by immigrant forms of faith to cherish a hostile purpose which could be countered only by the most watchful loyalty. An occasional local church undertook, through special sources of support, to initiate varied forms of service adapted to the needs of a downtown district, and was able, by means of the direct approach of resident clergy and parish workers, to discover and hold a considerable loyal following. A few of these early "institutional churches," as object lessons, had an important influence in remolding American Christianity after the new pattern of community need and opportunity. But such instances only emphasized the fact that Protestant churches were not able to bring about moral unity among distracted urban population groups.

As against a situation so baffling was the conviction in some quarters that the public schools would be a sufficient anchor of safety. Educators here and there succeeded in adapting the work of the schools in remarkable degree to their new constituency. But some leading immigrant groups brought with them their own systems of education allied to specific phases of religion. Thus one of the chief aims of the American educational system, that of building up a unified public sentiment, was to some extent frustrated.

The natural next recourse was to the agencies of charity. American cities had not been lacking in men who had striven to sustain the responsibility of well-to-do people for the extremity of need among the poor. Joseph Tuckerman in Boston, during the second quarter of the century, laid the foundations of a charitable system which should reach freely across racial and sectarian bounds. Edward Everett Hale (1822-1909), whose humanitarian out-reachings had been stirred by Maurice and reinforced by a visit in 1859 to the London Workingmen's College, made the beginnings in Boston of a system of relief by districts and neighborhoods. In the seventies, as the problem of relief became vast and complicated and old methods failed, associations were formed in several large

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cities for the purpose of adopting the broad and helpful principles of the London Charity Organization Society. Such undertakings, aside from their value in instituting a more comprehensive and thoroughgoing system for meeting the immediate issue, meant that not a few Americans of means and education were going across town to come in touch with struggling immigrant groups; and that separate bodies of visitors were devoting themselves each continuously to families in a given small district. Thus for one human purpose at least, a plan of voluntary service as comprehensive and exhaustive as municipal administration itself, was framed in outline and for its specific function.

The sense of intelligent responsibility for the unprivileged thus expressed was closely associated with the steady growth of a more emotional sympathy, which took form chiefly in renewed efforts for the protection and care of neglected children. Many scattered publications of indifferent merit served to stir such sentiment; all of them together, however, had much less influence on American readers than had the works of Charles Dickens. The leader in wise, far-reaching guidance of this motive was Charles Loring Brace (1826-1890), who, through the establishment in 1853 of the New York Children's Aid Society, revealed the principles upon which all sound child-saving work was later to be developed.

The whole city situation in its complexity and elusiveness was distinctively a challenge to the capacity of the American people. Fortunately, unlimited economic initiative gave promise of providing its own corrective by increasing the number of young people able to take advantage of higher education. The strong Puritan cast of leadership caused marked emphasis to be placed upon the peculiar moral responsibility of the college graduate. A succession of young men and women came under the teachings of Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, and other leaders of European culture. A broad region for moral adventure whose possibilities could not be reached by the formal ministry of religion, by established educational method, or through the specific relief of distress, began to be perceived.

A degree of clear definition and fine distinction was imparted to these aspirations by reaction from the low political standards with which the country had long been afflicted. A first fruit of emphasis on the higher education as preparation not merely for the old-

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established professions, but for life, was the growing conviction that trained men must in far greater numbers than formerly devote themselves to public affairs. "The scholar in politics" was the somewhat abstract watchword under which this reform movement definitely changed the course of national administration. The same tendency becoming more objective and more human, showed itself as the earliest sign of hope in the dark scene of municipal politics.

The first news of the settlement project suggested something quite elemental in its union of simplicity and comprehensiveness. The settlement proposed that the best equipped youth in a high spirit of devotion should undertake a mission toward building up the state at the precise point of its greatest disintegration. They were to make their approach not through any sort of office, nor even through any program, but in natural, downright, continuous association with the humblest citizens.

CHAPTER IV

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ALL those circumstances which called for the settlement might in themselves have been powerless in American cities to bring it into existence. The impulse here, as in England, came partly out of the struggle of religious leaders to apply the gospel to the imperious demands of the new order of life, partly out of the new humanizing influences of higher education.

In the year 1879, William J. Tucker, who later became president of Dartmouth College, gave up the pastorate of the Madison Square Church, New York, for a chair at Andover, with the definite purpose of training future ministers to meet the new human problems growing out of working-class needs and strivings. There he sought to equip the missionary spirit characteristic of the seminary with means for meeting the ultimate challenge of duty in terms of human service. About the middle of the eighties, Francis G. Peabody began to offer courses in social ethics to undergraduates of Harvard College "with a view to making the burning questions of the time appropriate to a liberal education."¹ At Hartford Theological Seminary, associated with more conservative tradition, Graham Taylor made the beginning of his career as a teacher and exemplar of new forms of Christian service. Since 1892, as Professor of Social Economics at Chicago Theological Seminary, he has occupied the first chair to be wholly devoted to such teaching in any theological seminary. Felix Adler, trained as a Jewish rabbi, in 1876 organized the Society for Ethical Culture and gathered about him a rare group of young men who, though detached from religion by

¹ "I must confess that on looking back I recall little sympathy from any academic colleague. One distinguished professor said to me that he did not see how such subjects could be 'seriously pursued.' Such a view seems somewhat antiquated now that these subjects are almost the only ones which any young college man cares much to study. There were at that time no books of any general importance, and the reading had to be derived from reports, magazine articles, and fragmentary chapters."—From a letter of Dr. Peabody's to the authors.

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scientific doubt, yet wished to learn, teach, and courageously apply the most significant ethical meanings of American life.

Awakening at the colleges came through the departments of philosophy, history, and economics. The organic conception of nature, humanity, and the universe; the dignity of every man as a member of society; decrease of rights, increase of duty; identity of worship and service; divine possibilities of direct fellowship with men wherever found; revelation that may issue out of apparent insignificance—these were principles instilled into the eager minds of youth by teachers of philosophy to whom the freshness of such truths gave them compelling reality. The evolution of modern England had a considerable place in the curriculum, and Green's *History of the English People* was often in the students' hands. Thus the new historical and ethical interpretation of economic facts began to replace the classical political economy and endless discussion of protection and free trade.

It is significant that the impulse which led to the establishment of the settlement found its first stirrings in the women's colleges. Aside from the natural outreaching of their imagination toward humanitarian enterprise, early women collegians possessed a peculiar zeal for such wider forms of service as would both justify and reinforce their admission to the realm of learning. Early in the eighties several members of the classes of 1883 and 1884 at Smith College, influenced by the teachings of Ruskin and Tolstoy, were spurred to undertake some far-reaching work of self-sacrifice. A "new Franciscanism," or world-wide order of women who should devote their energies to the service of working people, was outlined to a group of kindred spirits by Vida D. Scudder. Jane Addams, at Rockford College, Illinois, had begun to meditate in different form a similar purpose.

The first American settlement was established by Stanton Coit, a graduate of Amherst College, where strong missionary influence was fused with the new philosophy of human relations. In the summer of 1885, while pursuing graduate studies in the University of Berlin, he learned about Toynbee Hall through its first American resident, Howard S. Bliss.¹ As soon as Coit had received his Berlin degree he sought from Barnett the privilege of residence, living at

¹ Later president of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut. Died, 1920.

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Toynbee Hall from January, 1886, until his return to New York in March to become an assistant to Dr. Adler. While at Toynbee, Coit determined to undertake a similar enterprise in New York, and during the spring of 1886 he spent some time in searching out that particular part of the East Side in which family life most obviously lacked the moral initiative a group of young resident educators and reformers might bring.

Coit's experience while seeking a habitation was not unlike what befell most of the founders. At first he was inclined to take rooms in a great barrack of a tenement with an especially evil reputation in a neighborhood notorious for crime. At the solicitation of friends, he visited the local police station and inquired whether there was any likelihood of danger to a manifest outsider. The officials in charge refused to guarantee a fair degree of safety. He therefore selected a smaller and quieter building at 146 Forsyth Street, which in its five stories sheltered some twenty families.

The expressman called to move Dr. Coit's goods downtown protested at first that his client was in error concerning the address, and later was inclined to question his sanity. Neighbors were hardly less puzzled. A myth sprang up that he was a cast-off son of wealthy parents, who had sought the East Side in the last descending stages of want. Popular sympathy was altogether with the supposed victim, and his family was hotly criticized for driving into such an environment anyone tenderly brought up. Only a dime novel plot seemed adequate to explain so unusual a situation as his presence in the district.

During the summer and early fall of 1886, Dr. Coit devoted himself to the cultivation of neighborly acquaintance. Picnics for the young people were his first means of securing a following. In November a group of eighteen-year-old boys, who had been meeting in the dismal living room of an old blind apple woman, was offered the freedom of his quarters. The club signalized its new estate by changing its name from the Lily Pleasure Club to the O. I. F. Club, a mystic title signifying Order, Improvement, Friendship. A banner with a lily embroidered on its ground, a cherished possession, was given renewed lease of life by retaining that flower as the club emblem. New members were recruited, and the group grew so rapidly that the basement of the tenement was rented for

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a club room. Possession of this additional space led at the beginning of the new year to the establishment of a kindergarten. Shortly afterward the first group of girls, known as the Lady Belvedere Club, composed of young women between sixteen and twenty-two years of age, began its collective career.

In October, 1887, a second group composed of thirty school girls between the ages of ten and fourteen was gathered into a club. Before the winter of 1887, five clubs, each representing enterprise new and strange beyond present-day possibilities of conception, were holding regular meetings, and a federation of the young people's clubs had been organized. From this "Neighborhood Guild" the enterprise took its name.

Among the men who came to the aid of Dr. Coit as resident colleagues was Charles B. Stover. It is significant of the stirrings of the times that Mr. Stover had from boyhood desired to devote his life to the service of working people. With this purpose in mind he set aside the leadings of denominational loyalty and attended a theological seminary in New York rather than one of his own sect nearer his home. While a student he had gone into Rivington Street as a missionary and spoken in the open air. In May, 1887, he visited the Guild, and in August moved into the apartment adjoining Dr. Coit's, which he occupied for twenty years.¹

Practical efforts toward the improvement of local conditions originated during the summer of 1887 in a campaign for clean streets. It failed because of the bitter antagonism of the small dealers in the neighborhood. A substantial amount of time was also devoted to studying the causes of political corruption, and an unsuccessful attack was made upon the local boss, popularly called, because of the precious inlay in the floor of his saloon, "Silver Dollar" Smith.

Although the original residents of Neighborhood Guild had fancied that they were burying themselves when they went to live on the East Side, newspapers found them excellent copy. The publicity which ensued led to a multitude of opportunities for presenting their points of view to individuals and societies. This

¹ Other men of this time, resident for short periods in the same tenement or in the dwelling house taken later at 147 Forsyth Street, were: Elmer S. Forbes, Morrison I. Swift, P. C. Hale, John MacGregor Goodale, Arthur B. Davies, Edward King, W. B. Thorp, and James K. Paulding.

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experience registers the beginning of the attempt to interpret to the well-to-do the life of economic and racial types far separated from them. Within a twelvemonth several residents had applied their experience to problems of the organization of city life. Mr. Stover, in particular, entered avenues of large public service which he has since followed unswervingly. Among the efforts begun thus early, and ultimately successful, were those toward a businesslike municipal administration of rapid transit franchises, and the promotion of district parks and neighborhood playgrounds.¹

From the beginning of his experiment Dr. Coit had the resourceful assistance of women volunteers, among the first of whom were Jane E. Robbins, a physician, and Jean Fine.² During the winter of 1887 and 1888 Dr. Robbins, stirred by stories of Russian college girls who had gone to live with the people, determined to establish herself in a tenement. In November, 1888, she rented and furnished rooms at 130 Forsyth Street, and Miss Fine, then teaching in an uptown school, joined her for week-ends. Here the girls of the Guild resorted in ever-increasing numbers for sociability, classes, and parties.

The first stage of this venture came to a sudden end one day in April, 1889, when on returning to her rooms, Dr. Robbins found a dispossession notice attached to the door. One reason given by the landlord, the notorious "Silver Dollar" Smith himself, though it was perhaps least important in his eyes, was wear and tear on the stairs. The event, however, very happily hastened further and larger developments which were already brewing.

During the summer of 1885 Miss Scudder, whose new Franciscanism had gained somewhat in definiteness, approached friends among graduates of Smith College with a plan of establishing a resident group from their number in a working-class neighborhood of a large city. In the fall of 1887 four members of the classes of 1883 and 1884³ met in Boston and constituted themselves a committee to secure the necessary support. Dr. Robbins and Miss

¹ After two years Dr. Coit removed to London to become lecturer for South Place Ethical Society and director of Leighton Hall Neighborhood Guild. In 1892 Neighborhood Guild became University Settlement, and a new building was erected for it at 184 Eldridge Street. Mr. Stover now lives in the settlement.

² Mrs. Charles Spahr.

³ Clara French, Mary H. Mather, Helen C. Rand, and Vida D. Scudder.

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Fine, both Smith College alumnæ, contributed the results of direct experience. The project broadened and an association for "the support and control of College Settlements for Women" was organized, with representatives from Bryn Mawr, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley. In the spring of 1889 a house at 95 Rivington Street, New York, was leased and renovations begun. Here in October residents of the first college settlement took up their abode, Miss Fine becoming headworker. The name, which now seems so generic, was at this early stage quite definite and individual.

It was the original intention of the founders to devote themselves to girls and women, and to work largely in co-operation with other local agencies, especially Neighborhood Guild, whose headquarters were a short distance away. During the first year, therefore, residents took charge of girls' clubs which had been organized in Forsyth Street, and gathered new clubs of their own, installed two baths for the use of women and children, established a small library, and assisted in nearby Sunday schools. In spite of a resolution to the contrary, three boys' clubs could not be denied. In the second year, contacts with home interests in the neighborhood were focused in a women's club; and the momentum of the winter was carried over into a summer enterprise, the first settlement vacation cottage. In giving emphasis to personal friendly implications of neighborliness, organizing distinctive forms of work for girls, making the beginnings of a highly significant vacation scheme, and arousing the city to the significance of the low standards of life which obtained on the East Side, College Settlement rendered important pioneer service.¹

It is only as College Settlement is considered a development of the foothold gained by Dr. Robbins and Miss Fine on Forsyth Street that its origins antedate a similar though wholly separate series of steps taken by college women representing the spirit of the Middle West. The Chicago of three decades ago, along with lively metropolitan aspirations, retained much in environment and cus-

¹ Head residents of College Settlement who have had continued influence in the progress of settlement work have been: Dr. Jane E. Robbins; Mary Kingsbury, now Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, founder and head resident of Greenwich House; Elizabeth S. Williams, head resident for more than fifteen years. Dr. Robbins, temperamentally a pioneer, has devoted her fine energies to taking charge of different settlement houses in various parts of the country for a year or two during periods of strain or transition.

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tom reminiscent of the frontier. Sanitary and housing difficulties which grew out of hastily improvised equipment for urban living were further complicated by the presence of great numbers of immigrants imported to do the unskilled and peculiarly unpleasant work called for by certain industries. Manufacture and commerce, with their great stakes, held men of the city to the most exacting and unremitting attention. Women received the gift of a margin of leisure several decades in advance of their husbands and brothers, and for the time became the responsible guardians of local moral initiative. When they came to deal with the problem of immigrant neighborhoods, the group of educated young women who started settlement work applied the same discernment and the same ability to gauge and meet situations that had made their forebears winners of the West.

The most representative daughter of the Middle West, and in many senses of the nation, is Jane Addams. Profoundly influenced by the rare public spirit of her father and by his admiration for Lincoln, Miss Addams definitely determined, on graduating from college in 1881, to "study medicine and live among the poor." While in medical school her health failed, and, in obedience to a physician's orders, she resided abroad for a number of years. Her search for health was carried on no more zealously than her endeavor to discover a basis of personal relation to the outstanding human order whose inequalities and infelicities increasingly became to her a source of anxious thought.

Happening on an account of Toynbee Hall in the back pages of a magazine, she made a memorandum of its street address against a projected trip abroad. On the Continent in the spring of 1888, she explained her long-cherished purpose to Ellen Gates Starr, classmate and friend, who from that time became a spirited participant in it. Together they made a pilgrimage to see Toynbee Hall and to meet Mr. Barnett. In January, 1889, Miss Addams and Miss Starr began to look about in Chicago for an appropriate field and a suitable house. After much searching an old mansion on Halsted Street which had reached a low estate as a lodging house was found, and here on September 18 they took possession of a few rooms.

The founders of Hull House, perhaps more consciously than any

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other prime movers of the settlement in America, set out definitely to share with neighbors both their choicest possessions and the ripest results of their intellectual training. Their rooms were made as beautiful as their means allowed, and the considerable stock of pictures, photographs, and books which Miss Starr had collected in studying the history of art were used to create and hold neighborhood acquaintance. Reproductions of great masterpieces were framed and lent to neighbors. Groups were formed to study art, literature, and science. The first specially erected building included an art gallery, a studio, and a library. The beginnings of a music school and a crafts guild were made within the first two years. A series of parties and festivals commemorative of immigrant customs and traditions was arranged, which drew with the ingenuity of tact upon deep springs of racial loyalty in the different groups locally represented and imparted a clear sense of common heritage in a new national fellowship.

The ministry of culture, however, far from being allowed to become an anodyne, was rather the foil against which civic neglect showed its somber and even tragic results. Parallel with organization for beauty went the relief of poverty and distress and efforts to secure proper cleaning of streets and collection of garbage. Close acquaintance with the hardships suffered by men, women, and child workers in the sweatshops, led directly to requests for protective action by the state.

East Side House, New York, in the founding of which Everett P. Wheeler, attorney and publicist, took the initiative, was the fourth settlement.¹ In April, 1890, after hearing about English settlements, the Church Club, an association of Episcopal laymen, of which Mr. Wheeler was an active member, authorized its philanthropic committee to establish an enterprise on a like pattern. It was proposed to begin, as Dr. Coit had done, with a single tenement, and to take new apartments as fast as young men could be induced to join. Fortunately this plan was abandoned in favor

¹ Maxwell House was founded in September, 1889, by the Brooklyn Guild Association as an outgrowth of work of the Second Unitarian Church, several of whose members had visited Toynbee Hall; but there were no resident workers until 1896. Two Boston centers, Ellis Memorial and Lincoln House, established still earlier as boys' clubs, gradually broadened their schemes of service and in recent years have added residence houses. Mr. and Mrs. B. Preston Clark have been volunteer leaders in the work of Lincoln House from the beginning.

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of a fine old house on the river front at the foot of East Seventy-sixth Street, in a neighborhood of Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians. The settlement opened its doors in June, 1891.¹ Among its early and, at that time, novel achievements were a tidewater swimming pool and an important club of men.²

Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago, was established in December, 1891, by Charles Zueblin. Upon his return from graduate studies at the University of Leipsic, Mr. Zueblin accepted an appointment under the Methodist City Mission, and was assigned to a locality of Scandinavians, Poles, and Germans. To understand their life and problems he took lodgings in the colony. His activities not being sufficiently evangelistic to meet the desires of his denominational backers, support was soon withdrawn. Influenced by what he had seen at Toynbee Hall and Hull House, Mr. Zueblin determined to found a settlement, and appealed to his alma mater, Northwestern University, for assistance. It is indicative of the progress of the settlement idea that Stanton Coit's book on Neighbourhood Guilds³ was circulated as a means of arousing interest. Among Mr. Zueblin's earliest converts was a fraternity brother, Clarke Tisdale, who, with his bride, joined in establishing the settlement. Situated in what is perhaps the largest Polish community in America, the house has served as an experiment station for social work among Slavic peoples. Although for the first fifteen years of its existence headworkers succeeded each other every few years, the caliber of the men who gave themselves to the task was so exceptional that steady progress was made.⁴

The sixth settlement, Andover House, Boston (since 1895 South End House), came into being through the influence and leadership of Professor Tucker of Andover. In 1885 he established the custom

¹ In January, 1891, Prospect Union was founded in Cambridge by Robert E. Ely, with the support of Professor Francis G. Peabody and a group of Harvard students. It has always had more the character of a university extension center than of a settlement.

² Since 1908 the house has been in charge of Mary DeG. Trenholm.

³ Neighbourhood Guilds: An Instrument of Social Reform. London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1891.

⁴ Harry Ward, Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, New York; William Hard, a well-known magazine writer and editor; and Raymond Robins, true modern knight errant. Since 1907 the house has been under the leadership of Harriet E. Vittum.

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of sending a graduate of the seminary abroad to study new forms of church work, and the report of the first incumbent under this traveling fellowship contained a brief account of the beginnings of Toynbee Hall and Oxford House.¹ In 1890 Robert A. Woods went to England as the representative of the seminary and lived for six months at Toynbee Hall. The results of his studies were given in a course of lectures at Andover and were later published in a volume which presented to American readers the first extended account of the origin and working program of English settlements.² The way was thus prepared for the organization of a settlement association in October, 1891, and for the opening of Andover House under Mr. Woods' direction, January 2, 1892.

The five years between 1886 and 1891 constituted the introductory stage of American settlement enterprise. The six houses which had their beginnings during this period were established by persons who were moved, on the one hand, by a separate and distinct original impulse coming out of tendencies in American life, and on the other, by the example of Toynbee Hall. Within a short time representatives of these enterprises had placed themselves on terms of helpful consultation with one another. There were not only individual settlements but a settlement spirit and an urgency to fresh endeavors. As other houses were planned, experienced leaders arose prepared to assist with advice and instruction. A measure of the compelling power of the idea is the fact that fifty-seven houses opened their doors during the second half of the first decade. The leaders who sprang up during this period received their inspiration largely from American pioneers who, from the very beginning, had sought recruits among promising undergraduates at colleges and wherever they could meet young people of ability and democratic instinct.³

Settlements of this second group began their existence in the midst of one of the most serious panics that has ever afflicted this country. In a sense it called them into existence. Once in being, however, it placed their advocates under severe burdens and con-

¹ *Modern Cities*, by Rev. Samuel Lane Loomis. Baker and Taylor Co., 1889.

² *English Social Movements*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891.

³ For detailed bibliography covering the history and activities of each of the houses mentioned in this chapter, see Woods, R. A., and Kennedy, A. J.: *Handbook of Settlements*, New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1911.

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tinually imperilled the supply of modest necessities for existence. This condition lengthened the stage of pioneering by nearly a decade and very definitely, in respect of hard experience, brought leaders of the second period into the same group with the founders.

Early in 1892 the College Settlements Association followed up the house in Rivington Street with College Settlement in Philadelphia, and in December of the same year opened Denison House in Boston.¹

Wrought out with a large degree of independence and originality was the Nurses' Settlement, established in 1893 by Lillian D. Wald. Graduating from the New York Hospital training school for nurses in 1893, Miss Wald determined to devote her professional skill in personal ways to working people. While looking for rooms on the East Side, she and an associate, Mary Brewster, discovered College Settlement. Here they stayed for a short time making ready a place in which to live. The house taken later in Henry Street became almost at once a headquarters for district nursing, an experiment station in the application of nursing science to the needs of tenement neighborhoods, and an original and inspiring center for the development of local cultural interests.

The next enterprises in New York City were definite expressions of two forms of faith: Union Settlement, established in 1895 by graduates of Union Theological Seminary and since closely identified with it;² and in the same year Hudson Guild, sustained by the New York Society for Ethical Culture, and from the beginning infused with a rare quality of applied Americanism by its leader, John L. Elliott.

In Chicago, after Hull House and Northwestern University Settlement had represented the cause for a period of five years, reinforcements appeared in University of Chicago Settlement, of which Mary E. McDowell, another strikingly American figure, soon became head resident, and Chicago Commons, whose headworker since its founding has been Graham Taylor.³ Growth in Boston

¹ The leaders chiefly associated with the Philadelphia settlement have been Katharine B. Davis, later Commissioner of Corrections of New York City, and Anna F. Davies, who has been in charge since she left. Helena S. Dudley was for many years head resident of Denison House.

² Gaylord S. White has been head resident since 1901.

³ Both settlements were established in 1894.

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came with the establishment in 1895 of Hale House, opened by a group of young men inspired by Edward Everett Hale, and Elizabeth Peabody House, founded in 1896. This latter, organized about interests of the kindergarten, was named for one of its first exponents in the United States.¹

Meanwhile, cities of the second magnitude were assuming an important share in the development of settlement policy and influence. Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, founded in 1893 by George Hodges² in connection with a pastorate illustrative of the principles of Fremantle, and developed with conspicuous intelligence and determination by William H. Matthews and Charles C. Cooper,³ has shown what may be accomplished for protection of family life in a neighborhood beset with persistent forms of degradation.⁴ Whittier House in Jersey City, New Jersey, founded in 1894 and still guided by Cornelia F. Bradford, soon became an important influence for social improvement not only in the neighborhood but in city and state. Westminster House (1895) and Welcome Hall (1897), in Buffalo, were established by congregations of Presbyterians in fulfillment of responsibilities assumed under the church district plan.⁵ Westminster House was, for many years, under the devoted leadership of Emily S. Holmes. Welcome Hall, in spite of the short tenure of its early headworkers, has made substantial contributions to the life of neighborhood and city.⁶ In Cleveland, Hiram House was opened in 1896 by George A. Bellamy, who has shown striking purpose in providing adequate institutional resources for neighborhood education, recreation, and association.

The first ten years of settlement history in America are gathered up in the early strivings of these and a few other enterprises. Dur-

¹ Since 1908 under the leadership of Mrs. Eva W. White.

² Afterward dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, and president of South End House Association. Died in 1919.

³ Mr. Matthews, now director of Department of Family Welfare of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, was headworker from 1902 to 1911; Mr. Cooper has been head resident since 1911.

⁴ The population having become chiefly colored, the plant in the fall of 1919 was turned over to a group of churches which will maintain it as a Negro social settlement. Kingsley House has relocated itself in an Italian neighborhood.

⁵ Devised by the Buffalo Charity Organization Society and put into operation in 1895. The city was divided into districts of a few thousand people. The needs of each territory became a charge upon the church accepting it.

⁶ Since 1909 under the leadership of William E. McLennan.

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ing this period the reality of the undertaking was almost entirely in its inward power. Various projects seemed to spring up out of the ground, no one of them, with the exception of those undertaken by the College Settlements Association, being connected with any other. In most cases one or two individuals came forward to assume the new and peculiar responsibility of leadership. Conferring but little with established forms of charity or education, unable in advance to make sure of working colleagues, with even the outline of their method lying vaguely in the future, they took their courage in their hands and adventured. Cherishing merely a hopeful prospect of meager financial assistance, carrying with them moral support of only a trusting few, almost sure to encounter recoil against their overtures, they none the less pressed forward. All these difficulties, partly because they had not been fully faced, seemed but to stiffen the youthful confidence of the pioneers, nearly all in their mid-twenties. They possessed assurance of faith in the human value of what they had to bring; in the kindly, considerate goodwill of many of the people among whom they were to live; in the simplicity, freedom, not-to-be-denied validity of the neighborly relationship.

CHAPTER V

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FOR its foot on the earth the new project was restricted in nearly every instance to the dwelling house in which its small group of recruits established their abode. Appliances and methods were to be at a discount; the theory of work was "to be lavish of personal influence." But the cultivation of hospitality on a rather ample scale and the use of its rooms for groups which met regularly, soon began to set the household off by itself. English experience had shown that in serving some of the purposes of a communal establishment the settlement, through the command of ample quarters, could attain a certain marked distinction and dignity. But at every American settlement there was jealous watchfulness to keep the house as far as possible like a family residence and to prevent institutional developments from embarrassing any overture made by those who had come above all to be neighbors among other neighbors.

In an enterprise definitely committed to be in the nature of a measuring rod applied to industrial society the unbiased fair-mindedness, intellectual freedom, and moral initiative of its responsible exponents are a first consideration. Canon Barnett held that men of independent means, university training, and social vision living in a kind of residential club, would escape both suspicion of class affiliation and the tendency to degenerate into a charitable machine which goes with the necessity for soliciting funds. Hardly less a cause for asking residents to live at their own charges was the feeling that young college people would receive in knowledge of life and training in human association more than they could repay in service. Leaders of early American settlements set out to recruit associates among men and women not under the necessity to earn their living or whose regular occupations left them a substantial amount of free time. Miss Addams suggested that there were in every large

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city a number of educated and well-to-do young women languishing for occupation and for participation in the workaday life of the common people. The settlement was to be a means through which these healing desires might find outlet.

American sentiment was, however, peculiarly intolerant of those who seemed to be stepping aside from the established careers upon which the main growth of national life depends. The new form of service, therefore, had soon to be placed upon a vocational basis. After the first few years, new residents were drawn quite largely from among recent graduates, with their living to make, for whom a modest financial provision was necessary. This development, disappointing though it was in the beginning, has been not without advantage. Most settlements shortly included young men and women who had grown up in the wholesome intermixture of acquaintance that goes with the typical American town or village and had the zest of it upon them. Residents who had the gift by nature were now to develop its potency in wholly new directions.

Those who came of their own initiative or through informal ways of solicitation to fill out early resident groups were nearly all urged by the same wave of feeling that had aroused and stirred the founders. In the beginning it was the residents as individuals who felt out after right approaches to be made to a strange and suspicious neighborhood. Only gradually did the headworker emerge as leader; though, even then, the principle of free initiative on the part of residents of differing experiences continued strong and clear.

Very early, also, the question arose whether the privilege of service in a settlement should be restricted to college graduates. The issue was a real one, because it was of the essence of things that higher educational institutions should feel responsible for the project, and that the novel conception of life among working people as opportunity for persons of highest training should lose none of the sharpness of its edge. The matter settled itself out of hand by the necessity under which settlement groups found themselves of drawing on the knowledge and skill of all sorts and conditions of people in order to meet continuously emerging needs. Kindergarten teachers, nurses, graduates of normal and art schools, representative working men and women, were invited to residence or themselves sought entrance. It was soon felt that the term "college"

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or "university" settlement could be retained as indicating a motive and a standard without offering a rebuff to qualified persons. Hull House, however, avoided the academic epithet, substituting the descriptive term "social" settlement which ere long began to have a certain measure of general use. The present tendency is to dispense with any qualifying word.

The proportional share which men and women were to take, and the methods by which they should work together were naturally questions of much interest. For the first decade, with a few slight exceptions, households were restricted either to men or to women. After that, in many instances under the lead of western settlements with their co-educational traditions, resident groups were made up of men and women. Houses which had been composed entirely of men soon felt the necessity of help from the other sex, and all of them in one way or another gave up their policy of monastic isolation. In this country women have played a larger part in the development of settlements than in England; from the beginning the number in residence began to exceed that of men, and new houses were in most cases opened by them.

In these early days there were men and women who, while living in well-to-do neighborhoods, yet spent much time in sharing the round of work and administrative responsibilities of the settlement household. Many of these non-resident colleagues belonged among the charter members of the settlement to which they were attached. The original situation required members of boards and large donors to be flexible-minded and receptive to new ideas. Such supporters committed themselves to face whatever a strange admixture of reagents might reveal: they accepted in advance a pace to be set by the growing and creative vision of a group of young people through whom indications for action must come. These early friends in the background not only gave strength to the settlement but much of its vital freedom.

Although getting its specific clue from England, the American settlement was compounded of qualities and sentiments distinctively of the soil. The first of these was religious, freed of intellectual fetters and focused on character and service. Then came closely related aspirations toward unaffected human intercourse and outreaching mutual aid. Next, ardor for the pursuit and dis-

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semination of the results of higher education. Finally, faith in American political principles and assurance that their thoroughgoing application would bring a higher and better order of society. These convictions enveloped the undertaking like a luminous atmosphere.

Original American settlement groups, in nearly all cases, came to their tasks under the dominating religious motive of the Kingdom of God as a new earthly order to be built out of broader and deeper human relationships. Adaptation of the religious motive to objective conditions of everyday life was doubtless hastened by the intense heart searching which during these years the conflict between science and dogma compelled all thoughtful young people to undertake. The very fact that tenets of faith could be shaken so profoundly served to shift the emphasis to life; and life they felt must adapt itself to the terms upon which its fellowships can proceed. Yet new devotion had its ultimate analysis of duty as truly as the old. Habitat and ties were to be uprooted quite after the manner of the foregoings of those sent on a mission. The inner life of long and far separated brethren was to be mutually revealed so that their hearts should burn within them; the signs of the times and the hidden aspects of contemporaneous history, rich in spiritual content, were to be discerned and made manifest.

It was to be expected that an enterprise of devotion calling for the actual sharing of life among the people should manifest a leaning toward asceticism. Some of the first residents of Neighborhood Guild attempted to approximate living conditions in the district by limiting their furniture to the scantiest, allowing themselves only such food as local shops provided, and eating it from coarse utensils. The original group at the New York College Settlement "came to the work not only with a desire to serve, but in a spirit of real abnegation." It seemed to them entirely appropriate that they should carry on the greater share of the housework. Such practice, however, was viewed in a larger light than that of self-discipline, being intended to manifest the nobility and spiritual healthfulness of every form of labor, as well as to reduce the difference between the settlement and its neighbors in the scale of living. Here and there a few persons went so far as to pass from the

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settlement house and make their abode in a nearby tenement. It soon became clear, however, that the most generous service could be rendered and the most natural response secured by those living under what to them were normal conditions.

In the midst of all their new ethical problems and aims, early residents had the staunch and unqualified support of many progressive leaders in different branches of the church. They were compelled, however, to endure the cold aloofness if not the outright opposition of representatives of the great majority of religious people. In season and out of season they were met by eager evangelicals with the imputation of disloyalty to denominational standards. Somewhat scornfully their enterprise was referred to as "a philanthropic picnic in a wilderness of sin." At best, they were charged with overemphasizing the incidental phases of the Christian life to the neglect of its higher, more decisive appeals.

A slow and often anxious process had to be gone through before founders were able to convince their own households of faith that the vast arrearages of human service and fellowship found in city working-class neighborhoods were, on the one hand, a natural responsibility of the educated and well-to-do, and on the other, a clear call for a new type of dedication and special form of loyalty. They were ere long, out of their own experience, able to show doubters that not until profound changes had been wrought in the outward ways of such communities could summons to higher, inward purpose find access; that, instead of merely plucking brands from the burning, they were endeavoring to put out the fire; instead of seeking to lead a scattered few to righteousness, they were striving toward a more abundant life for all.

The central and essential significance of the new movement resided in the interpretation and application of the Christian principle of the dignity of human nature, which had been set forth with strong and even thrilling emphasis in the progressive religious teaching of the day. In establishing a home among working people, residents sought to be on a basis of respectful familiarity with them. It was often repeated that what men and women of the settlement undertook chiefly to do in their new environment was, in the full sense, to live in it; to enter with perception of high privilege into its daily walk and conversation. And this not merely as a means to

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some worthy end, but, with its implications, as the end above all others.

Two special qualities of democratic fellowship as taught by pioneers stand out because of their effect on settlement structure. One was a certain restless curiosity about the life of which they had become a part. Residents were to throw their full being into the neighborhood interplay, to seek the shock that comes from inward revelation of the life of exacting toil, of straitened resources, of hard-fought purpose. They were to submit themselves to be tested mercilessly by local standards, that there might be free trade between them and their neighbors in the costly products of experience. This fresh interchange, continuously growing and deepening, stimulated by the surmounting of barriers of race and religion, was more than anything else to give form and body to the human democracy of the settlement.

The second quality was a conviction that each element of culture might be made a means of grace; that every good gift among things of the mind and heart should be imparted freely and broadly to the people. The settlement was almost as much an expression of intellectual as of moral striving. It seemed to the founders that evils which exist in working-class neighborhoods are as serious a reflection on universities as upon church and industry. Where culture is reserved chiefly for the pleasure and aggrandizement of the well-to-do, it is likely to become narrow and exclusive or fortuitous and bizarre. Its results are uninteresting to a large portion of the community, and may even be despised by the majority of virile and productive people.

These incipient phases of a new humanism at once had the sympathy and help of persons of literary and artistic tastes representing the new type of goodwill. The ministry of culture began to win to its cause men and women who had never been attracted to the work of relieving the poor, who had been waiting for the sort of service which should deal in the maximums rather than the minimums of human desire. As exponents of truth and beauty they rejoiced to appeal to the finer instincts of human brotherhood, without requiring either the disclosure or invasion of the subtle reserves of personality which makes the religious approach of man to man at best so difficult.

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The settlement was to carry the university into the heart of the city's industry. As true representative of the higher learning, members of its family would naturally both observe their neighbors and learn from them, quite as they stood ready to impart from the settlement's stores. To secure acquaintance and knowledge so complex, detailed, and intimate meant involving one's self with people sufficiently to be taken within the reserves of family and neighborhood life and thought. It called for accurate and minute familiarity with the local pattern of streets, houses, and institutions, as well as sustained participation in many-sided associations and interests. Science itself demanded that such an onset be characterized not only by alertness but by sympathy. Only those who can go among men and women with affection can understand the tissue of objective causes and inward motives which bind people together. Scientific disinterestedness calls for, not the separateness of the observer, but suspended judgment in the midst of action. The explorer of society must gain his facts largely as a by-product of humanized participation in enterprises formerly quite alien to him. For the time being residents were to identify themselves so directly with their problem that by a new method of penetration they should be in and of it.

Early residents brought to their tasks special educational equipment. Many had carried on graduate studies both at home and abroad. They represented the first generation of students whose thinking was molded by the principle of natural science that the mass is to be identified and affected through the molecule or atom, and the living organism through the cell. They were prepared for a similar point of view in social science. This appeared in the treatment of the ancient village community as the nucleus of state and civilization. Such teaching, far from minimizing the significance of the family, marked it out in its community setting. The city neighborhood had already been recognized as a distraught survival of the ancient communes, which were in a real sense the menstruum in which family life might float. It was "the family of families," when its present-day mysteries were penetrated, that was to become the reinforcement both of character and of citizenship.

At each of the settlements in American cities were men and women who not only had visited London houses, but had learned

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at first hand of other vital phases of English social readjustment. Especial interest was felt in the sympathetic participation of residents at Toynbee Hall in the labor organizations which grew out of the great dock strike of 1889. Charles Booth's painstaking examination of working-class living conditions for a great city district, family by family, house by house, block by block; and his minute analysis, graphic representation, and statesmanlike treatment of results imparted strength and inspiration to struggling American students determined to be thorough in understanding their neighborhoods. The Fabian Society, a direct outgrowth of Christian Socialist influences, espousing specifically a type of municipal socialism which should undertake to prove its case experimentally, step by step, was distinctly a factor in rousing and guiding certain American residents amid dawning issues of more humanized city government. The visits of William Clarke and Graham Wallas to this country brought illumination and inspiration to more than a few hard-pressed leaders. The work of the London County Council suggested a policy for the recovery of standards of administration and of citizenship in our large cities through a downright, humanly serviceable development of civic democracy.

The patriotic purpose of the settlement carried with it a new method. The war for the Union had overcome the danger to the nation inherent in geographical sectionalism. The new threat lay in the isolation of classes and nationalities. The settlement intimated that the problem might be approached on the basis of an inner understanding of those human facts which conduce to evil political conditions. In this connection residents received profound encouragement from the example of Theodore Roosevelt, who became police commissioner of New York in 1895. This was the first notable attempt by a university man to administer municipal office in a spirit of good sportsmanship directed to the fulfillment of ideals, and the clear purpose of serving those elements of the people least likely to be taken into account.

The settlement conception of an educational program for citizenship included inculcation of our historic national principles and preparation of new citizens in immigrant districts for the honorable exercise of suffrage. But it also encouraged tenement dwellers to demand and to secure from city governments just and necessary

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consideration of their living conditions. At first, improvement of these seemed to need only more efficient and more equitable administration of existing laws. It soon appeared, however, that a much broader and more human type of municipal administration would have to be devised. The era of the individual's reliance upon his own initiative, based on the assumption of illimitable opportunity, was coming to an end. Residents of settlements were among the first to see the patriotic necessity of applying public resources to meet a great body of new collective needs.

Study of industrialism as represented by working-class individuals, families, and neighborhoods was approached by early residents with two prepossessions. The first of these had been expressed in Ruskin's axiom that industry should be organized so as to conserve and build up human life. For certain residents the clear wine of the English prophet's idealism was tintured by Tolstoy's stringent doctrine that each person should devote part of the day to manual labor, as well to know his own soul as to relieve the intolerable burdens of others. The desire that everyone should find work at once congenial and humanly developing, yet without neglect of necessary hard and distasteful tasks, remains among the most compelling and influential undercurrents of settlement thought. The second prepossession, in the minds of nearly all settlement people of that day, was more radical than the first. It was nothing less than the belief, at first taken over from England but quickly confirmed out of experience, that workingmen not only have the right but are in duty bound to organize for the protection of their interests as wage-earners.¹

The panic of 1893-1897, which compelled residents to devote themselves so largely to problems of unemployment, brought significant relations on the one hand with broad-minded employers, and on the other with leading representatives of the American Federation of Labor, then coming into large success through the linking of trade unions. The distress with which settlements were so con-

¹ "The residents came to the district with the general belief that organization for working people was a necessity."—Hull House Maps and Papers, p. 184. New York, Thos. Y. Crowell Company, 1895. The Articles of Association of Andover (South End) House includes the purpose "to co-operate with . . . labor organizations, and other agencies acting for the improvement of social conditions." 1891.

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stantly concerned during this long and bitter period naturally aroused much socialistic agitation. The ineradicable sense of necessity for profound change which the situation wrought into the consciousness of settlement workers was goaded by exponents of radical working-class opinion with whom, for the first time, educated young people came into direct intellectual conflict. Through such contacts settlement houses came to be known as hospitable meeting places for all sorts and conditions of men.

Confirmation of emotions aroused by daily experience came from continental prophetic spirits as varied as Mazzini, Damien, Millet, Zola. Henry George, with his warnings against the encroachment of population upon the land and increase of poverty, was having in his own country that recognition which for some years had been accorded him in England. Richard T. Ely had presented the first American academical interpretation of the labor movement and of socialism. Edward Bellamy had set forth a vision of Utopia in terms of Yankee mechanical ingenuity. Albert Shaw was interpreting the new type of municipal enterprise growing up in Great Britain and on the Continent. Jacob A. Riis at the beginning of his long career was indicating through the actual *mise en scène* of life among tenements what the anti-tenement strategy must be. John Graham Brooks, patient, discerning analyst of a particular present which foreshadows the future, was becoming known as peripatetic catechist and counsellor. Henry D. Lloyd was embarking upon his truly prophetic mission as exponent of good and evil in the modern synthesis, whether of trust, industrial co-operation, governmental enterprise, or the shaping of an unexampled national culture to include contributions from all the racial instincts and traditions of the world.

Aside from the general sense of interest and responsibility which, as forward-looking citizens they felt in broad programs of social reform, residents had a definite belief that settlement work would spread to large numbers of city neighborhoods similar to their own, and that the idea would find expression in many other sorts of communities. They dared to hope that an influence might be created which would affect church, university, industry, and politics.

The various but related motives which underlay the settlement

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enterprise, running counter as they did to some of the most cherished habits of prevailing evangelical Christianity and to some of the deepest convictions of the dominant economic individualism, could not but seem questionable to the majority of prosperous people. The idea was tolerated because the motive of renunciation through service made an exceptionally strong appeal on ethical and patriotic grounds to important centers of opinion. The dangers in the situation were mitigated to the judicious observer by certain outstanding facts. Each settlement was deliberately and persistently involving itself in the affairs of a single neglected neighborhood. With the interests of this neighborhood it must rise or fall. Here was the constituency by them to be won, by them in some sort to be led in the ways of a better order.

CHAPTER VI

THE LOCAL IMPRESS

THE choice of a territory in which to locate, although in each case the subject of some study, was never so seriously entered upon as later and fuller experience would have suggested. There was a well-defined tendency to select the district most notorious for extremes of misery and even of crime. The widest reach possible to the new enterprise was needed to satisfy the moral imagination of certain founders. While it was thoroughly understood that each settlement would, in considerable degree, be made by its immediate environment, it was not understood that in some cases the settlement would be compelled to undergo radical transformation in order to adapt itself to conditions which were gradually to appear.

This laying hold upon a neighborhood in the city for purposes of deliberate community reconstruction was the inspiration of Stanton Coit, who effectively adapted the English parochial concept, with its ecclesiastical suggestion, to American conditions under which religious prejudices were in danger of bringing local responsibility to complete disintegration. He clearly saw that it was through the home that neighborhood no less than church must have its being and make its growth. Conversely, the endeavor to understand and compass the family gradually emphasized the fact that sound family life depends, in large measure, on extraneous forces. The family was by outside acquaintance either supported in its loyalties and standards or its foundation was being undermined by them. Where wholesome neighborly relations were lost, it was almost inevitable that family morale should go with it.

Among the causes of local disintegration, weakening of the instinct for fellowship in cities has always been recognized as important.¹ When, as in the case of certain parts of Boston and New

¹ "It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech: 'Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either

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York, 1,200 people are crowded on an acre, it is difficult to individualize one's immediate neighbors sufficiently to be on human terms with any considerable proportion of them. What is more significant, perhaps, is the fact that many families do not stay long enough in one place to establish neighborly relations, even if other conditions are favorable. The extreme specialization of modern industry makes great numbers of human beings almost interchangeable. Constant readjustments in economic organization, fluctuation in economic prosperity, and the spirit of enterprise and ambition have created a class of nomadic factory hands who form no neighborhood ties, join no local associations, and involve themselves in no effort for community betterment. In many districts the yearly rate of movement as shown by changes in the public school enrolment approximates one-third of the entire population. In such a case the small proportion of families who remain are likely to think of themselves as living on tiny islands in a more or less swiftly moving stream.

But the peculiarly American cause of disintegration in neighborly relations, which seems to sum up the others, is immigration. Even in the nineties it was not uncommon for a working-class district to contain representatives of more than twenty nationalities, each with its own dialect, customs, manners, prejudices, fears, loyalties—racial, national, and religious—degrees and types of education, and outlook on the world. Deep-seated antagonisms, bred through centuries of provincial as well as national experience in Europe, created to the outsider almost incomprehensible currents of feeling.

Appreciation of the fact that great populations, far from being freed from the need of neighborhood relations are even more dependent upon them than villagers, was the basis of the settlement program of local organization. It recognized, however, that urban achievement of the blessings of local life was decidedly difficult. It soon was evident that tenement people were evolving a form

a wild beast or a god' But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: *Magna civitas, magna solitudo* (a great city is a great solitude); because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship for the most part which is in less neighborhoods." Bacon's Essays. Of Friendship, p. 106. London, Macmillan and Co., 1887.

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of society adapted to the precise conditions of city life; and that in spite of all untoward influences there was in every instance a real substructure upon which to build. Amid the struggling, bewildered immigrant humanity there survived a keen sense of the villages out of which members had come; and, by a curious irony, the intense inter-village rivalries which they brought with them emphasized their readiness for neighborly approach. In smaller or larger sections given over to particular foreign nationalities the beginnings of neighborly initiation for scattered families of other racial antecedents were discernible.

The fulfilment of a program calling for systematic spread of democratic fellowship from person to person, house to house, and street to street, demanded the creation of instruments capable of the utmost variety and nicety of application. In seeking to meet this challenge two motives, both freighted with weighty, though at the time largely unrealized possibilities, were introduced into the science of city organization. One involved all those varied forms of acquaintance and voluntary responsibility that may go with life in a local community.¹ The other looked toward ends political and administrative.

With the purpose of comprehending so far as possible all people within a given circuit, it was obvious that the invitation must be to underlying, universal motives, and not to those which for better or worse were exceptional. Prejudices must be crossed and re-crossed with activities having an unmistakable appeal. Racial and religious ties which set people in groups apart must all be respected, but there must be deliberate cultivation of such general interests as give reality and identity to the neighborhood. This purpose compelled the settlement to avoid having its influence restricted within any shade of economic distinction. It could not give special attention to men and women goaded by hard necessity; on the other hand, the temperamental interest of founders in the ambitious student or toiler met a radical corrective as it grew clear that only a thin and loosely attached upper crust would be reached through them. Thus gradually and by a somewhat bitter dis-

¹ Directors of missions and institutions had sometimes lived in the buildings in which their work was housed, but they were propagandists and specialists who centered their interest on a single issue.

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ciplinary process, the settlement became above all an enterprise in appreciation and exaltation of common human loyalties.

Members of the new and peculiar households were accepted by one neighbor and another on that basis of human give and take which informs the neighborly instinct. Children, with characteristic curiosity and venturesomeness, entered into parleys, and ere long were ready to storm the house as they became conscious of welcome. And through the children, residents began to be accredited to older brothers and sisters, to mothers, and sometimes to fathers.

It was soon discovered, however, that though it is relatively easy to establish human relationships with a few adults and with groups of children, a solid residuum of the inhabitants would with difficulty understand why persons should live in a district less agreeable than that warranted by their incomes. The most frequent and confident guess was that the newcomers were missionaries. The inquiry, "When is the prayer-meeting snap to be turned on," represented a common defensive attitude. Almost without exception it was taken for granted that an ulterior motive existed. In certain immigrant sections residents were accused of being government spies. Even worse possibilities were whispered. Settlement households of young women were in several cases visited by local roundsmen with a request for hush money.

As soon, however, as a representative group of people had satisfied themselves about the good faith of the newcomers toward local moral, religious, and economic loyalties, their response was, almost without exception, kindly and generous. Naturally enough, a certain fraction both of neighbors and residents lacked the sympathy, capacity for sustained experience, freedom and flexibility of spirit needed to work out the possibilities of this delicate situation. Almost unperceived, racial, class, and religious prejudices occasionally wrecked or greatly embarrassed the beginnings of enlightening acquaintance and effectively organized activity. In every neighborhood some people held aloof just because the overture came from a different region of life. Often this attitude commanded respect. It represented a constant and wholesome challenge to residents to cultivate a broadly human attitude.

As, at first, a program only very gradually came into being,

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workers with peculiar eagerness struck out directly into relations which should bring them into the atmosphere of common humanity with their neighbors. The fact that working people have few intellectual devoirs and are not much concerned with questions of property causes their talk to circle about the great primary relations and experiences and the direct impact of personality on personality. Mere residence automatically gives the right of first-hand comment about local interests, traditions, and prospects. The exchange of details about the health, achievements, and hopes of local acquaintance made residents, as it were, sustaining partners in neighborhood affairs. Those with the special gift of discovering the simple downrightness of home life in back streets set it forth as a precious contribution, racy of the soil. A quite definite tendency to form groups on the basis of immediate contiguity was disclosed. Broad, flat methods of approach, if ever considered, were abandoned in face of the differentiated human texture of things.

On occasion, however, all separative classifications disappeared. The settlement was often unable to dispose of the smouldering apprehension that its presence was casting aspersion over the entire face of the neighborhood, or that it cherished a covert purpose of opposition to local industrial interests or racial traditions. That pride which is strong even under the most untoward conditions could almost overnight contrive a united resistance which, for a time, baffled all overtures. One of the essential facts in the situation was that the settlement had given exceptional hostages to fortune. It stayed on, to realize that there was in such nascent gregarious power the indispensable underpinning for neighborhood reconstruction which was the very substance of its hopes.

Advancement of first-hand grasp and mastery of neighborhood facts came largely through every sort of casual interchange; though from the beginning, systematic and comprehensive pursuit of local data through some sort of undisclosed canvass, with persistent gleaning of information from responsible and well-informed local citizens, was not lacking. Sources of information compiled in broad terms by municipality or state were forced, usually through dint of great labor, to tell a local story. Graphic exhibits showing distribution of nationality, income, and institutions were prepared as a means of visualizing local problems and recording progress.

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Early studies were largely engaged with the meaning and methods of the people's self-supported and self-managed collective undertakings. Residents had already pledged themselves to participate, so far as they might find welcome, in the major institutions of the neighborhood. They shortly came to know in terms of actual life how deeply family, racial, and national traditions are grounded in the doctrines and symbolism of the church; how multifarious are the forms of help which individuals and households striving to meet economic hardship, to solve moral difficulties, or simply to enter into the sense of fulfilment which is the reward of common devotion, draw from clergymen, teachers in religious schools, leaders of sodalities, guilds, and other parish societies. They observed the actual process through which Catholic parish organization preserves and builds up local standards of temperance, clean speech, and chastity; and the degree in which celebration of Jewish feasts and festivals holds parents and children together under the stress of different rates of adjustment to a new civilization. They watched the church unifying immigrant groups during the trying period when its members are as a people without a country. Deterioration or breakdown in the structure of religious tradition and practice was seen carrying tragedy in its train.

The theory of sectarian neutrality with which founders started passed beyond the mere attitude of *laissez faire*: it became a positive sentiment of respect for and sympathy with each different form of faith, and for the ties by which its followers are held to it and to one another.

In somewhat the same way, racial and national loyalties found in the neighborhood were seen as something amiable and precious, instead of quite apart from, if not hostile to, that Americanism of which settlements were exponents. Here, then, was the promise of spiritual interchange between settlement and neighbors which the harshness of religious differences forbade; and the vague foreshadowings of native American culture substantially diversified and enriched by what immigrants might bring began to seek expression and embodiment.

Often following racial lines, but in any case creating a stern new alignment, the organization of labor presented combined challenge and appeal to those who in large measure had come to put them-

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selves, in ethical terms, in the workman's place. It was among the most cherished hopes of early residents that the tradition of goodwill between democratically inclined university men and trade union organizers which obtained in England, might be duplicated in this country. Friendly approaches were therefore made to leaders of city federations of labor. Some of these welcomed the sympathy and intellectual companionship of educated people, and opportunity to discuss, with a certain measure of detachment, broad questions of economic reform. A few among this number affiliated with settlement households. They pointed out to residents sore spots in the administration of industry and the exact conditions under which injustice pressed heaviest. They also showed how the local union supplies fellowship, lends a helping hand in distress, serves as an employment bureau, helps immigrants to become acquainted with some of the fundamentals of American life, and creates that feeling of power behind an industrial group without which the individual is alone and lost. This first-hand contact with the "pith of working-class intellect" gave those who experienced it an illuminating sense for the angle of incidence which establishes the distinctive labor view of affairs.

Residents, on their part, were able to be of assistance to such leaders by interpreting the longer course of economic thought and industrial history, and specifically by pointing out some results of English trade union experience. Beginnings were made in collecting material on the history of American trade unionism and in securing data about industrial conditions at home and abroad for use by trade union legislative committees. Labor leaders were drawn into the residents' larger range of interest in the general community.

The arena of the labor leader, as a rule, is not within the neighborhood. Another sort of leader, with authority at once more compact and more varied, filled the center of the distinctively local scene. For some time it was felt by the settlement that the ward boss was a man almost of different nature from others. The fact that local improvement so largely depended on political action drove workers deliberately to study the sources of political power in their localities. Meanwhile they acted with such wisdom as they possessed. It was clear in the great strongholds of ward machines that headway toward improved municipal administra-

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tion would proceed with painful slowness. The need for it was appealingly expressed in districts inhabited by a great mass of docile and helpless immigrants, where such public influence as the resident group gained was eagerly drawn upon by occasional men or women seeking help under intolerable burdens.

These demands brought settlements into productive working relations with the organized beneficent resources of the city. The parochial tradition, so important a part of the settlement impulse, caused pioneers definitely to constitute themselves a clearing house to which puzzled and distraught neighbors might apply for guidance. They interpreted to these, in terms of the fullest and most friendly appreciation and understanding, the various specialties of service in district and city. The fact that their motive embodied a revolt against institutionalism caused residents to be specially sensitive to the temper and spirit of local administration and the thoroughness with which each agency met the human needs it was set to satisfy. The shortcomings they observed were inherent in any scheme for the treatment of human beings in aggregates unless carefully safeguarded. Men and women who applied to local charitable agencies, both public and private, were often emptied of individuality and thought of as "cases." As the scope of their undertaking became increasingly defined in the minds of managers, and stereotyped through inertia and precedent in staff practice, originality and ingenuity of treatment often disappeared and with it due personal consideration of the recipient. The more residents saw of philanthropic institutions, the more they were impressed with the fact that lack of economic power to enforce one's right to be regarded as an individual is among the bitterest hardships of poverty. The loyalty and regard, raised into tradition, which neighbors displayed for the few doctors, clergymen, educators, nurses, and relief agents who dealt with men and women as human beings, and met unusual situations with inventiveness and resource, constituted an impressive criticism of the opposite practice that so often prevailed.

From this point of view, settlement work and study began to measure the degree in which popular leaders were expressive of the local mind. Once residents had learned to distinguish between the apparent service of a buccaneering politician or saloonkeeper and

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that of a truly representative officeholder or responsible citizen, they set out to secure greater scope for the better initiative. The multiplication of organization, the broadening of interests, the increased demand for detailed and disinterested public service which developed in the settlement was directed so as to call forth this sort of leadership and to offer it opportunity to demonstrate its capacity.

It was discovered, however, that people were but little concerned with any form of secular organization. Even their indigenous societies were chiefly in control of outsiders or of self-constituted dictators. Collective initiative in many tenement communities was on the way to be altogether stifled. The reaction of a stubborn environment had a surprising effect upon such theories of reform as early residents brought with them. First made more radical by the pressure of the great need around them, they found themselves urging policies that were not only unsupported by working people but presupposed capacities not yet apparent. Neighbors were disappointingly unready for responsible, continuous endeavor. The process of associated action, which was the matter and stuff of their program, was by test long and slow. Theoretical conclusions had to be reshaped from a new point of view.

The conviction that it was possible to establish neighborly relations with many in the locality came to pioneers with a sense of new power. The informal brotherhood which grew out of detailed knowledge of men and women in their daily walk and conversation made an increasing circle of people unwilling that their comfort should be based in the hardship of their fellows. It left them anxious and unhappy unless they felt some part of the burden of contemporary life resting down on them. Members of the first small households were privileged to become the nucleus of this life-giving tendency. With the devotion of a new age upon them, domiciled within the shadow of hardships and confusion which it had brought, with their minds strangely reoriented by initiation into industrial unrest and aspiration, tinctured with alien outlook upon their native land, straitened with the sense of an urgent mission to those groups out of which they had come, they urged forward their pragmatic appeal for the more human administration of education, industry, and government; for the "nationalization of good."

II

NEIGHBORHOOD GUILD

CHAPTER VII

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HAD they been left to their own choice, the newly arrived settlement corps would doubtless have continued for some time to give prior claim to what they considered their more important function of meeting with men and women who were accredited leaders of neighborhood sentiment, and after that, seeking acquaintance with young people and children. But they were not. Boys approaching adolescence welcomed so eagerly any overture that might be interpreted as friendly, followed up acquaintance with such unwearying persistence, and teased with such winning good nature to be included in whatever good times were arranged, that they gained the freedom of the settlement almost against the underlying desires of residents.

In the first instance settlement work among boys differed little in intention from that of the mass clubs which had already been established as separate organizations in a few cities. The negative purpose of juvenile recreation expressed in the watchword "get the boys in off the streets" was adopted bodily. As soon as boys were admitted to the house they were assigned to groups, more or less arbitrarily, by residents. These groups from the very beginning were kept small. It was a general conviction of the founders that it is better to know a few children well than many superficially.¹ The educational productiveness of the small group under the guidance of leaders of character and ability has always been appreciated. Certain institutions, notably Protestant Sunday schools, had employed the principle with conspicuous success. But quite apart from any theory, space was limited. The necessity which most

¹ "Stanton Coit . . . had been really eloquent on the subject of forming close friendships and of grappling these young people to us with hoops of steel. We caught the idea and as a result some of these twelve-year-old girls have grown up to be our closest friends."—Robbins, Jane E.: *First Year at the College Settlement*. In *Survey*, Vol. XXVII, p. 1,800, 1912.

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settlements were under of holding meetings in dining room, parlor, or even in bedrooms of the residence house meant in each case a close circle. It also indicated inactive occupations such as parliamentary law, debating, table games, story-telling, singing, and general conversation. The intimate relations fostered by such recreations led boys to boast of their adventures, to discuss the rules which governed their dealings with one another, and thus to reveal the way their minds were made up. Deep-seated hopes and aspirations were laid bare in the plans they outlined.

The desire of boys to invite their friends to these meetings shortly threatened the practice of arbitrary assignment to the several groups. To permit them to choose their own mates meant "gangs." Thirty years ago boy gangs were in most tenement localities, as indeed they are still in some, a menace both to their members and to the community at large. The slogan, "break up the gang," was not only a principle among boys' workers, but an article of faith among harassed citizens. Even residents, in their short experience, had come to realize how thoroughly demoralizing such groups might be, and they were to learn vastly more. Three discoveries turned the balance in favor of the boys' own form of association. The first was that practically all boys were members of gangs; the phenomenon was almost universal. Experience revealed the fact that not all gangs were bad; certain sets of boys were attracted in a body to the settlement because it represented something high and unusual. Participation in boys' groups made clear beyond possibility of doubt the capacity of the gang to create loyalty, to become an actually going concern. Here were a series of facts that educator, moralist, and student of society could not afford to neglect.

Organization of the natural group or gang is the outgrowth of untold generations of experience in what constitutes workable association. An average membership of from eight to fifteen is prescribed. Members are usually of equal age and live within a short distance of one another. A certain like-mindedness and correspondence of powers is generally discoverable, offset by differences based on capacity for leadership, skill in games, and possession or control of materials for common enterprise. The activities of any specific gang are marked out by the immemorial interests of

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adolescence, by the opportunities which environment affords, by the natural instincts of leading spirits.

Adoption of the alliance which boys make for themselves as the most satisfactory foundation for group activity, and appointment of an adult leader for each group, who shall be a real participant in its life, constitute the two distinctive principles on which the settlement club is based. Resourceful directors recruit clubs by commissioning boys with a burning for leadership to gather their own groups, or by offering directly the facilities of the settlement to gangs gathered in from cellars, alleys, or street corners. Experience has shown that all stages of the process of testing out one another, through which prospective members of a new organization finally reach working agreement, are best carried on without adult interference. Some settlements, indeed, admit clubs to house privileges only after they have elected officers.

Agreement upon rules of conduct and the exercise of embodying them in a constitution mark the passage of a gang into a club. The almost universal tendency on the part of individuals to take a stronger ethical position before others than in the privacy of their own souls or in the presence of a single boon companion, usually leads members formally to adopt as a basis for government the highest moral ideal known to them.

Effort to live up to a standard written into a constitution and subscribed to, sets in motion new and compelling influences. A little experience makes it evident that distinction within the group depends on effectiveness with one's fellows; that he who serves leads. The cost of untruthfulness, irresponsibility, and lack of application, especially in others, is seen in deeper blackness when silhouetted against group interest. The fact that the club is financially responsible for the action of individual members creates a new attitude on the part of the majority toward wanton destruction. The weak are bolstered, the strong confirmed, and the rebellious coerced by the most telling force members know, the publicly expressed judgment of a group of their peers. In the club, the fact that the moral law represents the sole practicable scheme of human intercourse, finds demonstration in the understood terms of life itself.

The raising of money, possession of a surplus, the setting aside of

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funds to pay for rent and other privileges, investment in common property, the organization and financing of feasts and good times, represent profoundly unifying experiences and are important factors in the beginnings of true teamwork. The real rise of the club into collective selfhood may be said to take place when members learn that by acting together in harmony they can accomplish results in quantity and quality above the range of their total individual efforts. Once the moral principle that the whole is more than the sum of its parts is definitely grasped, club members jointly and severally have a practical motive for co-operation, the intrinsic force of which is never thereafter lost.

Independence, self-control, and courtesy, when called forth under conditions of enjoyable self-expression combined with self-imposed restraint, develop often with surprising and rewarding rapidity. Out of the discipline acquired from constant meeting comes power to check one's impulses, ability to retain ideas in solution and to state them with tolerance and respect for an opponent, willingness to acquiesce in the judgment of fellow-members, a new feeling for order in human relations, capacity to unite easily and to work swiftly and surely. Each recognizes that his associates become by virtue of the common bond and the common accomplishment, a new and special loyalty. Organization is thereafter seen as a system of broadened and deepened responsibility. A club which has held together during several years demonstrates the actual capacity of its members to steer a straight course in elementary good living amid the multiplicity of counter-currents in city neighborhood life.

The winning of ends so desirable as these depends in very large part on the generalship of club directors and leaders.¹ Under a leader lacking in force and skill the average group explodes into mischief and destruction, or wastes away because it can find nothing worth doing. Right counsel and incentive are necessary to help members make productive use of energies through discovering their common desires and interests.

The personal qualities needed in the man who sets out to be

¹ The word "director" is used to designate the resident in general charge of organized club work. See pages 86, 344 ff. "Leader" indicates the volunteer, resident, or paid associate who meets regularly with the club.

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guide and friend to a club of boys so nearly exhaust the virtues that a catalogue becomes meaningless. Certain qualities are indispensable. In addition to well-marked individuality, such a man should be fond of people for their own sakes, able when the situation demands to generate enthusiasm for high interests, and capable of dealing resourcefully with each new situation on its merits. Beyond all else he must be genuinely concerned with the happy moral growth of youth.

The successful leader steepes himself in the activities, hopes, fears, dreams, and endless conversation of his charges, and is thus prepared to encourage each one in the several most vital aspects of his life. By visiting the boy in his home environment, and getting that almost certain response from parents which comes of sharing their concern for their child; by bringing the club within the range of his personal interests and sharing to the greatest possible measure his own family and friends; and by establishing between club members an ever wider range of reciprocal human intimacies, he builds up standards and sanctions which make the club a watchword of safety and an abiding stimulus to a higher ethical life.

Constant consideration has to be given to the influence of natural leaders and the tendencies of cliques in club membership. Two contrasted qualities which grow out of the awakening of different individualities during adolescence have serious effects on both boy and club; namely, a tendency toward too precipitate seizure of responsibility and a too lagging faith in actual and potential powers. The first type of boy assumes a degree of authority beyond his years and his capacities. He mistakes whim for conviction, and jumps heedlessly from one impulse to another. He often drags his companions after him into ill-considered adventure. The influence of the second type of boy on his fellows is almost worse than that of the first. Childish, timid, conservative, uninventive, he checks the progress of his mates by clinging to a program of infantile mischief and badinage. The presence of several boys whose individuality is undeveloped or arrested constitutes a serious danger for normal boys of the same group. It is sometimes necessary to encourage the abler associates to form a new club, though it is a clearly acknowledged part of settlement duty to follow up the cases of those who seem to be temporarily or

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permanently incapable of meeting the demands of club membership.

It may be put down as among the important results of settlement experience that membership of clubs of adolescent boys must be well unified as to years and interests. Clubs frequently solicit too large a membership, in which case two groups, formed on the basis of age, develop. Or the split may occur because new members are accepted without due regard to their fitness. Boys from twelve to sixteen have a way of becoming new creatures overnight, as they are caught in some powerful current of awakening life. The emergence of interests which call for readjustment and expansion should be anticipated and met almost before club members are conscious of them.

Home, school, and industry are important factors in determining the kind of work and association adolescent boys require. There are in most tenement neighborhoods a group of households wherein the standard of family care for childhood approaches that of the best type of middle-class home. Parents retain mastery of their children's leisure, scrutinize their companionship, and limit their activities away from home. Boys from such households usually go through high school, and are, therefore, better disciplined mentally than working boys of the same age. For this type of boy many of the programs devised during the past decade by organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Woodcraft League, Young Men's Christian Associations, and by teachers of classes in mechanical and artistic activities, are successful. The major proportion of youth, lacking continuous family oversight and discipline, already involved in gang association, are not easily captured for education.

To his working brother the high school boy, as a human being, seems immature and amateurish and his interests and activities academic and dull. The industrial recruit, projected without transition or preparation into an unaccustomed and perplexing environment, finds himself forced to meet and to solve a great number of highly disturbing situations. He makes a whole series of new acquaintances with experiences and standards different from his own. His time for recreation changes from day to evening. The range and scope of his adventuring after pleasure are enlarged by the possession of additional income. He evolves new tests for

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opinion and conduct based on what he regards as a more worthy and successful order of things. Association with those passing through like experiences is greatly craved. Exploring fields hitherto unranged by himself or his fellows, and discovering new things about himself, about others, about industry, and about the world, he is anxious to exchange data concerning these fresh and vital phenomena.

Comparison of the gang, club, and home life of working and high school boys makes it clear that the economic dependence of children between fourteen and seventeen years of age is far more normal than the precocious worldliness of the employed boy. The increased investment which parents are called upon to make automatically assures him greater oversight and care. The added training he secures in school helps to develop initiative and makes him more of an individual. He comes to have definite worthy interests, capable of being justified against the gang. He meets boys from different parts of the city and from other economic classes and discovers new types and standards of success. His knowledge of reality is thus broadened at important points and becomes a factor of the utmost significance in his picture of the world, its responsibilities, duties, and pleasures.

Among the most recurring phenomena of gang and hence, in its early stages, of club activity, is the tendency to break into something which approaches anarchy. Outlet must be provided for the superabundant energy of boys and youth in order to secure the best results that come from quieter forms of association. The back yards of settlement houses in the early years were fitted up with simple playground apparatus, and the cellars, attics, and sheds adapted to indoor sports. Club meetings began to be prefaced by a series of exercises. It soon became abundantly clear that athletic games, especially when reinforced by group loyalty, duplicated on the side of action the moralizing training that comes through participation in meetings. The boy learns, under a new set of conditions, to curb his impulses, control his appetites, respond to orders quickly, accurately, thoroughly, and to understand the meaning of fair play. Citizenship, not less than soldiery, secures an important part of its training on the playground.

Before the settlement, the gymnasium was a luxury, maintained

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outside of colleges and clubs of the well-to-do only by religious agencies whose facilities in effect were limited to a relatively small constituency among business and professional men. Settlements placed gymnasium privileges without restriction of creed within reach of working-class children and young people. Money for such equipment, in the beginning, was secured with difficulty. Even the most liberal and humanly disposed givers were inclined to feel that children under fourteen were amply occupied in public school, and that employed boys were sufficiently exercised by their work. Not until 1900 did settlements find themselves able to erect gymnasium buildings.

Settlement gymnasiums have come to be centers of personal hygiene for the expansion and fulfilment of physical health and power throughout local neighborhoods. All boys using the floor are examined by a physical director. Instruction is given about diet, bathing, sleep, posture, and regimen. Abnormalities are corrected through exercise. Boys found to be in need of medical treatment are directed to proper clinics and followed up to see that they go. The foolhardy attitude of contempt toward physical defects and ailments which many boys affect is gradually overcome by kindly interest and reasoned argument.

Possession of a gymnasium makes possible that training in the technique of federated action which is so important a motive in settlement education. Competition between clubs very shortly leads to organization of house athletic leagues.¹ Acting in an advisory capacity with the gymnasium director, the executive committee of the league establishes regulations governing the conduct of all who use the floor or compete at meets, arbitrates disagreements between contestants, organizes and manages teams, holds dances, receptions, or parties both for the pleasure of such events and in order to raise funds. Members are frequently delegated to act as leaders of gymnasium clubs of small boys; and prizes are offered to be competed for by afternoon clubs. In several instances a league has rendered important service by creating public opinion in favor of a municipal playground, or has helped to secure temporary use of vacant lots.

¹ These organizations date from about 1903. Each club elects delegates to an executive committee.

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Settlement athletics are not, however, without their difficulties. The lust for prizes which characterizes modern athletic contests is constantly encountered. Competition with outside teams also presents many of the difficulties inherent in intercollegiate athletics; and as in the case of colleges, there is a well-directed tendency to reduce outside competition and to increase inter-club and inter-class contests. This plan increases the number of participants in certain forms of physical activities. Some houses encourage individual effort by giving badges which represent a particular standard of physical attainment, thus providing for competition with one's own record.

For almost a decade there was a marked divergence of opinion between advocates of the mass boys' club, which received large numbers from a considerable radius into general rooms and provided rather broad forms of recreation and instruction, and settlement advocates of a neighborhood boys' organization made up of natural groups each under an adult adviser and leader. A considerable number of mass club leaders now agree that the natural group offers great possibilities of close and thorough acquaintance with boys, influences association, gives access to those spontaneous neighborhood interests by which the lives of boys are conditioned, provides an easy and natural approach to the home, exerts an influence in establishing standards through participation, and educates the public through the first-hand interest of volunteer leaders. Settlement club leaders on their part recognize that good equipment, a wide range of activities, contagion of large numbers, and the technically skilled leadership of the mass club are properly attractive to boys.

The effort to combine both types of club is gradually making headway. The plan first tried by certain mass club leaders of dividing membership into small bodies was, of course, unsuccessful. Resort to the more natural method of asking boys to form themselves into small groups has had a measure of good result. Increased equipment, influence of the mass club, growth of expert leadership, and the departmental tendency within the settlement itself are now leading to an organic type of boys' club which takes the natural group as unit and makes the larger body by affiliation of gangs. This development represents the latest

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results of long thought and effort, and in its full significance belongs with the growths of neighborhood consciousness described further on.

Practically all tenement districts show a considerable series of loosely organized groups of young men in their late teens and early twenties which meet occasionally and give one or more semi-public dances during the winter. Profits are used to pay rent of a shack at some nearby resort or to finance a series of good times, or they may be divided among members. These clubs are the creation of a somewhat capable minority among youths of the locality, and while their activity proves the possession of initiative and a degree of ability to carry out common enterprises, the by-products of unregulated association are often far from happy.

Most neighborhoods also have a few associations sufficiently resourceful to hire a store or a tenement suite for use as a club room. Groups which manifest this degree of organizing capacity are likely to be approached by local politicians and their party loyalty solicited through gifts or subsidies. The usual fate of such clubs is that the rooms attract a few confirmed loafers who live on the sufferance of parents, brothers, and sisters, or on their wits; in which case the more thrifty, finding themselves providing in undue proportion for the comfort and convenience of a parasitic group, finally withdraw and the club dies.

These indigenous groups have marked influence in the neighborhood, not alone because of the number of boys who belong and are influenced during their formative years, but because younger boys regard such associations as highly desirable and take them as patterns. It is, however, an important part of settlement policy that the general director of clubs should keep in close touch with all other boys' groups in the neighborhood, whether self-formed or graduated from the house. Assistance is given to such extraneous clubs in arranging parties, athletic meets, and summer outings. The settlement, in return, calls upon members for help in organizing athletic events, in securing local improvements, and in efforts to raise the moral tone of neighborhood life. The loyalty of these groups toward the neighborhood is thus kept in greater or less degree worthy and productive.

A growing number of settlement directors of boys' work are con-

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vinced that it is sound policy to provide quarters, at rental slightly lower than the local price of rooms, for the exclusive use of a club of working boys. In a few instances houses have taken a tenement or dwelling and let rooms to their own clubs as each became able to assume the financial burden. Most groups are more than willing to include a volunteer leader in their membership, and the settlement as landlord keeps informed about the standard of activity reached by its tenants. Such a building makes a center of wholesome and forward-moving interests among older boys and young men.

The young manhood of the neighborhood, almost more than its adolescent youth, captured the imagination of early residents. Several among them had high hopes that it might be possible to establish clubs for workingmen in their early twenties which in time would be analogous to the associations that have proved, on the whole, so important a phase of progress in England.¹ While a few such clubs prospered, the majority after a few years failed. Although several more or less obvious reasons, and others not so clear, are advanced to account for this lack of success, no attempt at a thoroughgoing analysis of the interests, the amusements, and the associations, local and otherwise, of men has been made. The prevailing type of settlement men's organization, so far as it exists, has come to be a mixed recreative and civic club, with rooms of its own open at least during the evenings. Lines of gang loyalty having faded, members are taken in under a broadly hospitable test. The number who belong varies from thirty to a hundred or more. The question of equipment, beyond that of a modest degree, is less important than leadership and the public work undertaken. Experience of a few settlements which have had the gift of elaborate and costly quarters, pervaded as these are bound to be by an atmosphere of resource and largesse, has not been altogether happy. Workingmen are most at home in surroundings not too unlike those to which they are accustomed.

¹ It is a fact to be remembered that the idea of the workingmen's club was imported from England, where there is a large number of such organizations. Though the initiative was originally given by the Christian Socialists, the clubs are now usually independent. In this country independent men's clubs are extremely rare, showing that American workingmen do not incline to them under any conditions. The British workingman's love of debate is to a large extent the secret of his liking for the club.

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Athletics is still usually the chief interest of such a club, although billiards and pool, a small library, occasional lectures, dances, and an annual picnic constitute an important part of the recreational program. Some members are likely to be influential in ward politics. The club usually takes a hand in local improvements, and often supports the better candidates in reform elections. A regular duty of distinctive interest to members, such as editing a newspaper, managing boys' clubs, or initiating and carrying on athletic competitions, is often placed on the group as a continuous responsibility.

The most difficult question which promoters of a settlement men's club face is that of administration. Financial agreements must be crystal clear and set in writing; otherwise groundless complaints may break out into open antagonism. The club should have a range of control over equipment and activities corresponding to the financial responsibility which it assumes, but no more. Residents are concerned, as we have seen, not merely in providing a resort for a group of individuals, but in building up a semi-public instrument for mutual aid in a soundly motivated and well co-ordinated movement of neighborhood life. The settlement must, in order to protect itself, carefully guard not only its equipment but its aim. If a club conducts its affairs in the interest of a few members, becomes self-centered and intolerant, or develops bad habits it is a failure as a settlement enterprise.

The heart of the workingmen's club is that small but potent minority among the rank and file which is actuated by high ideals of fair play and instinct for public service. The chief duty and opportunity of the settlement is to discover in the neighborhood individuals of this sort. When the proportion of this type of members is large enough, and it need not number more than five or ten per cent of the roll, and constant enough in its attendance, the club succeeds. While capable volunteer guidance is decidedly useful, it should be ingeniously tactful. A leader who fails to win and deserve respect of club members is a constant thorn in the side of club and of residents. Perhaps the most decisive word to be said in this connection is that the kind of man able to sustain workingmen's clubs at a proper pitch has hardly yet caught the vision of his opportunity.

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Men of middle age and beyond have been formed into clubs at a few settlements. Experience has shown that the majority of fathers of families are unwilling to belong to organizations that even by implication seem to call for frequent and regular attendance. A large proportion of workingmen are so tired at the end of the day that they gladly stay at home. An occasional excursion to a "movie," church entertainment or lodge, satisfies their desires for extra-family sociability. Another large proportion will attend required meetings of a trade union or monthly gathering of a lodge or benefit order. Such men will also be found at occasional political rallies and at settlement gatherings for celebration of holidays and festivals, or for discussion of public questions. Most fathers of families can be depended on to be spectators at performances in which their children take part.

All neighborhoods contain a small proportion of men who are natural mixers. Some are active in the district political machine, in which connection they also make it a point to be part of other local associations. Running through these various groups are always a few men with the instinct for public welfare who can be drawn out only by some specific demand for their services. They will assist in managing and carrying on parties and celebrations, and will meet during a limited period for the accomplishment of some practical end, such as obtaining a neighborhood bath or playground, or bringing about improvement in public service. Most settlements every few years organize such groups, which meet regularly so long as there are actual things to be done. Once these thin out, interest weakens.

Many residents believe that the time is ripe for a new attack on the problem of local organization among men. In numerous settlement neighborhoods a generation of boys trained in the art of working together has already matured. It is now easier to set apart quarters free from the presence of women and children. The elimination of the saloon is putting millions of men in possession of their faculties for the first time in their adult lives. It has not been an accident that the response of women to finer interests and their capacity to co-operate has been greater than that of men. As long as so many men were alcoholized after work to a point below the level of continuous team-play, little in the way of group

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action could be expected.¹ Much of the effort which might have gone into devising association for men has had to be devoted to helping the victims of inebriety. Manhood in possession of its powers will, in some normal way, be ready for responsible neighborhood loyalties.

In the evolution of the settlement program, preadolescent boys were last to be considered. The desires and needs of boys between five and eight years differ hardly at all from those of little girls. At the seventh or eighth year small boys exchange the loose gregariousness of mixed groups such as the kindergarten band and children's play classes with their gentle suggestion, for the male herd. The boy's individualism increases, and with it his aggressiveness. He frequently desires to pull against the group. He becomes interested in construction and finds outlet for his powers in carpentry, clay modeling, drawing, and other forms of handwork. He likes to do these things with his fellows, however. His games, though in the group, are of the intercepted sort, filled with interruptions, with splits, with dissensions. Training in formal association begins at the settlement through group games played with a ball, boxing, and sometimes dramatics and dancing. During the latter part of this period the small boy finds that his desires increasingly accord with those of certain among his fellows. He makes a beginning of carrying out common enterprises with them. He strikes out the idea of a gang or club long before he is able to manage the actuality.

The importance of this period to the neighborhood organizer grows increasingly evident. A large share of the mistakes and failures of adolescence can be traced to conditions which were final for good or evil in preadolescence. No analysis of the needs of little boys under city tenement house conditions comparable to those which deal with his adolescent brother has yet been made. More scientific and thoroughgoing study and experiment constitutes a next stage of pioneering in social-educational enterprise.

Neighborhood organization calls for the discovery and training of men who will make organized activities among males a profession. Twenty-five years ago the type of club director most sought was the man who by virtue of physical strength, personal magnetism,

¹ Exception must be made of the Jews, who are notable for temperance and capacity to get together.

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and that ready understanding and sympathy which grow out of ability to recall youthful feelings and experiences, knew how to keep boys within bounds and to direct their desires. In the period of getting acquainted, which all neighborhood agencies have to go through, these qualities have paramount value.

As clubs multiply and resources become more adequate, the educator in the field of social work comes to the fore. He must be acquainted with the findings of modern psychologic research and pedagogic experiment, able to apply the lessons of these sciences to group work for all ages, and to train staff assistants and volunteer associates who will carry out his program. He undertakes a neighborhood census of group activities, and knows where the several gangs are likely to be found at almost any hour of day or night, the relative mentality of each, and the quality of its inherent leadership. He follows up younger boys who manifest signs of power to direct others. As work to be done develops, he keeps recruiting his forces. He discovers the exceptional men who can play games, sing, perform on instruments, tell stories, make a speech, assume responsibility, organize group meetings, create public opinion; and induces them to give regular or occasional service in the organized life of the neighborhood.

The enlistment in increasing numbers of men with the personality, training, and devotion needed to appraise the human capacity of a tenement district and to direct the powers of individuals and groups toward wholesome fulfilment, constitutes one of the most important adventures of the second quarter century of settlement work.

CHAPTER VIII

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ASSOCIATED action among women, down to the founding of settlements, was almost non-existent. Membership in organizations other than those connected with the church was regarded as conferring not honor but mild reproach.¹ The settlement, especially in the United States, in itself represented an important outreaching toward a broader sphere of activity and influence. It brought forward under a distinctive motive the early beneficiaries of that spiritual emancipation which followed the opening to women of the treasures of a liberal education. It was natural to expect, therefore, that these exemplars of what was best in the possibilities of progress for their sex should loyally seek to impart something of the new spirit to women, and perhaps even more fully, to girls, of the neighborhoods into which they went.

Early girls' groups, though dignified by the name of clubs or societies, were in nearly all essentials classes. The special faculty which women have of uniting work and sociability gave to such groups an aspect of joyous good-fellowship which seemingly met not only the needs but the desires both of girls and young women. More important still, girls themselves appeared to manifest little interest in organization. There had been no local collective formation among girls and women comparable to that found in almost all neighborhoods among the opposite sex. Feminine sets or cliques were composed of fewer members, were decidedly less coherent, less

¹ Before 1880 the chief outlet of women into the world was through church auxiliaries and through charities usually connected with the church. Women's clubs, beginning about 1870 among the moderately well-to-do, were for many years hardly different from an adult modification of school-day literary societies. Gradually, however, these associations began to give expression to the woman's instinct to protect and refine her special vocation of housewife and neighbor. Early in the eighties a few useful recreative clubs for working girls were established. The rise of the auxiliaries of the Knights of Labor, and in some measure the movement for equal suffrage, began to indicate the will of a growing minority of women to protect their interests in property and industry.

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resourceful, and more ephemeral than those of their brothers at like age. Self-government, therefore, was not considered an ideal to be striven for or taught. Training in rules of order, committee work, and group activities had taken so little share in the life of women leaders that it seldom formed part of their plans for settlement groups.

The emphasis placed upon some directly useful form of training, which at a later stage became so powerful a motive in the organization of boys' work, from the beginning occupied the minds of women residents. Such a policy was practicable partly because girls are more amenable than their brothers, and partly because it was not difficult to secure reasonably capable volunteer teachers. Leisure, and with it culture, is one of the most important prerogatives of American women. The number of college trained women increased greatly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the goodwill of graduates and undergraduates responded to almost any real call for service. It was certainly an innovation in education to have a teacher who would play with pupils, who might be met by them at odd times in the neighborhood, who invited them to her home, who gradually became an informal and welcome guest at theirs, and whose acquaintance was valued by older members of families. Thus out of the thick of what might have been a high and dry instructional scheme, was elicited a distinctively human relation between teacher and pupils, among pupils themselves, and between the teacher and the homes from which pupils came.

There is, in the matter of fundamental domestic activities a community of interests among all womankind which constitutes a precious and powerful public asset. The program of work among girls and women established by early workers was far more comprehensive in its range and far more intensive in its practical application than was that devised for the other sex. Two chief causes were responsible for this superiority. One had to do with equipment; the other with leadership. The settlement in its first stage was primarily a home and only secondarily an institution. Residents found it difficult to tolerate with equanimity the excessive wear and tear on household furnishings which is inevitable in boys' club work.

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The residence house provided, however, not only the traditional background for feminine interests, but one just different enough from the homes of the neighborhood to pique the interest and stimulate the imagination of those who came in. Cooking, sewing, dressmaking, music, conversation, even committee work, gained through the atmosphere of domesticated hospitality which members consciously created. It is an interesting fact that the development of girls' work has been in constant reaction against the institutional background brought in through laboratory kitchen, gymnasium, and public hall. An environment as nearly as possible like a home, meets the deepest instincts both of pupils and teachers.

By the end of the decade, however, it became clear that there are in every neighborhood two types of young girl: one who prefers to be occupied about the traditional concerns of women; a second, hoydenish and adventuresome, who desires to express herself actively among masses of her own kind and to whom traditional forms of group work are far from satisfying. This latter type shook residents out of their complacency, and led to the development of a program fitted not alone to her needs but to the latent and unexpressed powers of her gentler sister.

Boys have benefited in high degree through the fact that, whether for good or evil, get together they would. The cost to householders, in property and nervous force, of gang activities, reinforced in no mean degree the more usual arguments in favor of playgrounds, gymnasiums, and clubs. The delinquencies of the girl, on the contrary, were not directed against property, and hence were not reported in police dockets, newspapers, and statistical tables.

Retardation of the social impulses of adolescence in the case of girls between fourteen and sixteen, even more than of boys, is a fundamental motive of group work. Most settlements, therefore, seek to hold the interest of girls just entering young womanhood as far as possible in handicraft and other forms of occupational activity. Children are usually not permitted to attend evening clubs until their fourteenth year. Girls of fifteen and sixteen are encouraged to find interests among themselves. Their social instincts and outreachings are satisfied through the dinners, parties, exhibitions, excursions, and dances incident to courses in home-

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making, art, music, literature, dramatics, and pageantry. During this period the soundest preparation for actual association with the other sex is transmutation of girlish sentiments into womanly ideals.

The creation of an adequate program of association and recreation for young working girls in their seventeenth to twentieth years provides one of the most difficult problems of the neighborhood organizer. In addition to disadvantages which grow out of a congested environment and early wage-earning, already mentioned in the case of boys, the girl developing into womanhood labors under certain handicaps which affect her with special seriousness. Lack of vocational training is even more pronounced than in the case of her brother. The strain of new and unaccustomed tasks in her work, and the carelessness of industrial managers in arranging conditions under which she performs them, frequently make her the victim of hardship and temptation. A low standard of family life, with overcrowding, poor and insufficient food, and lack of privacy undermine bodily strength and character. The girl, too, is more subject to neighborhood moral traditions than the boy, and finds it more difficult to rise above them finally and definitely in so far as they are bad. Lack of sufficient recreation, the necessity to rely upon men for costly and desired pleasures, easily become a cause of moral breakdown. The seriousness of the situation lies in the fact that the girl is a more sensitive subject than the boy, has not so many chances to rehabilitate herself if she slips, and must be depended upon as the chief factor in establishing standards of life which shall govern her own future family.¹

It is the consensus of opinion among club leaders that the most useful service they can render adolescent girls is to hold them together in forms of effective associated action. Home ties with which the girl may have reasons for being impatient are dis-

¹ Until 1910 there were no studies of the desires, needs, and difficulties of adolescent girls as detailed and thoroughgoing as those made for boys, and no broad-scale program of work in their behalf. A comprehensive investigation of this problem was carried on during 1911 and 1912 by the National Federation of Settlements, and published under title, *Young Working Girls*. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1913. Harriet McD. Daniels made a study for the New York settlements, published under the title, *The Girl and Her Chance*; a study of conditions surrounding the girl between fourteen and eighteen years of age in New York City. New York, F. H. Revell Co., 1914.

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criminatingly reinforced, and the attempt is made to focus about her all worthy neighborhood traditions and attachments. Alert, sympathetic direction is provided for her new personal and occupational outreachings. The larger and finer interests of life, elevating thoughts, and noble ideals are made existent in her own terms.

The extreme individualism which girls manifest during this period makes them desire either a small clique or a large and general club. The most successful clubs have a membership of fifteen and upwards, the nucleus of which is a few charter members with whom acquaintance on the leader's part was well established during the members' childhood. In a club of this size there is opportunity for congenial spirits to fall into those shifting sets or cliques of two or three which are the girls' form of natural group, and sufficient native ability and natural leadership to assure entertainments by home talent. Those in charge of work among girls must be able to perceive and meet continuously and resourcefully the developing needs and longings of members, resolve inner dissensions bred of absorption in personal hopes and heart burnings, foster establishment of a generous policy in admitting new members, and secure the growth of a broad, genuine club spirit.

The desired qualities in club programs are variety and unexpectedness. The main energy of the group usually goes into dramatics, dancing, parties, and vacations. Some form of class work is likely to be included as part of the club program, though attendance is often optional. Possessions such as membership pins, club furniture and fittings, and a formal enterprise like a co-operative vacation scheme, are valuable adjuncts. Several settlements stimulate competition between clubs for originality and excellence of entertainments, plays, and parties, pitting girls against boys of similar age. Opportunities for group altruism, through gifts of money, entertainments for parents, good times for small girls, have a particularly beneficent influence. Every possible chance to turn the girl's attention from herself to the outer world should be utilized.

Although adolescent girls do not manifest the desire shown by boys to combine in considerable companies, many club leaders believe that the effort should be made to assure them this form of discipline. The informal method consists in reserving the entire settlement on one or more evenings a week for girls. The first

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hour is devoted to small group meetings for education and business; the remainder to a program of entertainment, dancing, and sociability in which all mingle, responsibility for carrying out the program being assumed by different small groups in turn. This plan works best in fairly homogeneous neighborhoods and presupposes thoroughgoing work by the settlement staff during at least half a decade. Once accomplished, such an informal alliance offers wholesome chances for that somewhat sporadic acquaintance, observation, comparison, and stimulus which is the girl's method of encompassing facts of human environment. It mitigates economic and race prejudice between groups having different standards and nationality. In its broader action it even serves to overcome the little snobberies of adolescence. As the ablest girls of each group come into larger responsibilities, they are brought under the leader's special influence without danger of favoritism and help to draw out and mold collective sentiment. By playing up limited club interests into something generous and human, each organization becomes a real factor in deepening neighborhood spirit and in creating a sense for a well-knit and wholesome common life.

Since 1910 an increasing number of settlements are providing formal training in federated association by organizing girls' club councils. These fix rules governing admission of new clubs, dues, discipline, and other matters of detail affecting the girl, her club, and the settlement. Committees of the council organize entertainments, parties, dances, plays, picnics, and groups for discussion with other houses.

The uphill progress made in endeavoring to interest young working girls in their industrial problems, combined with new pedagogic insight, gradually brought settlement workers to realize that in the future women must be assured some of the same vigorous initiative in working together through which the power of association is passed on among boys and men. The foundation of training and influence must be laid in those years when the whole being is "wax to receive, marble to retain"; when a priceless clarity of feeling may be surely confirmed or hopelessly clouded. Experience and experiment gradually showed that between ten and fifteen years of age the sense for group loyalty is ready to be aroused, and that under proved leadership girls delight almost equally with boys in

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drawing up constitutions and by-laws, electing officers, serving on committees, carrying on meetings, and planning new work. Since this interest tends to weaken during later adolescence, it is clear that preadolescent girls should be encouraged to form clubs just as soon as they desire to play group games; that such clubs should be homogeneous as to age, station in life, and range of powers; that membership should be kept small.

The Girl Scout and Camp Fire programs are based on instinctive desires for loyal ends which characterize preadolescence; and many settlements organize groups under both of these systems. There is, however, in every neighborhood a large number of girls to whom the rituals do not appeal. Their independence dislikes to be labeled, their self-consciousness forbids success under such conditions. For these the settlement club provides a form within which imagination, creative ability, love of law and order, responsibility and self-government can develop untrammelled by too much detailed control. The majority of residents feel that the tenement girl particularly needs the training secured by belonging to a self-governing group.

An important result of continuous interest in children is the conviction of residents that a more precise adjustment of community resources in leadership and equipment to the needs of little girls between the ages of six and fourteen is called for. A study carried on during the years 1915-1919 by the National Federation of Settlements made clear the effect on physique and nerves of overcrowding within the home, lack of proper medical and dental care, bad habits uncorrected. Failure of true neighborhood vigilance makes it possible for certain types of loafers to mark the little girl as their prey. Her apparent attitude of mere spectator before the pageant of street, entrance to motion pictures, dance halls, and amusement places has been wrongly interpreted as passivity. Actually, she is storing impressions, assimilating them in reverie, making plans to put dreamed of ideas to the test. Case work with adolescent girls who have fallen into evil ways shows how great is the influence of suggestion received in childhood. Clean youth can be nourished only in clean neighborhoods.

The very heart of the little girl's need is enough house room to preserve the bloom of innocence and the sympathetic mothering

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that surrounds her as with a wall against unclean and harmful suggestion. Small groups under leaders of attractive personality must be multiplied. Along with friendship must go a full round of recreation specifically devised to meet the little girl's instinct for active, but at the same time imaginative and sociable, play. Much more in the way of miniature home-making, entertaining, spontaneous and self-expressive dramatics and pageantry is called for. The unfortunate absence of relationship between the teaching force and the mothers, and a lack of kindly interest on the part of Sunday school workers who are also neighbors, removed a source of potential guardianship and incentive. No merely public care for children can take the place of that conspiracy between family, teacher, and friends through which well-conditioned households safeguard the delicacy of a child's perceptions and her relationship with others. The settlement must continue its work of protecting her goings and comings. The neighborhood must be combed of loafers and degenerates, of coarse men and women. Shopkeepers who assist children to deceive parents must be publicly scored.

As the facilities and staff of the settlement became increasingly adequate, girls often have the privileges of a gymnasium and playground.¹ Athletics in the old days found no ready-made demand, and always encountered some special problems.² Today, however, the playground-trained girl takes readily to the gymnasium, and possibly because she has had play exercise in the years just previous she takes more and more kindly to formal floor work and marching drill. After the eighteenth year all gymnastic interests center around basketball. Programs of inter-club and inter-settlement games hold the athletic girl until she marries.

With the advancement, through childhood and adolescence, of such a program as that outlined, the likelihood is enhanced of a

¹ Girls from six to eight enjoy the vigorous enacting of stories and the running of relay races; from eight to twelve, drills of any kind, marching, simple floor work, and folk dancing; from twelve to fifteen, drills with Indian clubs and wands, folk dancing, apparatus work, ball games of all kinds, and the like.

² A frequent source of administrative embarrassment is found in the fact that girls and women insist upon larger lockers and a greater degree of personal privacy within the dressing rooms and shower baths than a gymnasium built for men ever provides. The matter of gymnasium suits sometimes creates difficulty, which may be solved by buying material at wholesale and letting the girls make the garments under the direction of the settlement sewing teacher.

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normal approach to womanhood. The years between nineteen and marriage are pre-eminently a time of hunting the other sex and of being hunted. The vision of a home of her own is a recurring and disturbing factor in work, in recreation, in family and social relationships. The undirected girl becomes increasingly individualistic, and although she enlarges the variety of her associations they are likely to be less purposeful, less responsible, and less continuous. As instinct and experience indicate that in the great adventure of matrimony those who enter the lists boldly and stake something on the event most often bear off the prize, and as the very spirit of romance itself involves reaching out into the unknown and unexplored, the girl is inclined more and more to range away from her home locality.

Club organization, in its program and its accomplishment for girls in this latter period, is still relatively undeveloped. In a general way its postulates are that dancing and dramatics furnish desired and valuable recreations, that the sense of responsibility properly appealed to brings response, that the feeling for beauty lies near the surface and is readily engaged, that initiative is not lacking and comes almost for the last time within the scope of educational encouragement. The best settlement leadership follows many clues in order to keep about these young women personally, in their small sets and in their relations with young men, as much as possible of the atmosphere of wholesome camaraderie. It is a question whether in most cases continued association of considerable companies of girls by themselves is to be expected at this stage. Group organization inevitably breaks under loss of members through marriage or other forms of life activity. The gradual disintegration of the group leaves members with an unsettled feeling which hastens the end. Even where a portion of the group continues to meet, its grasp is broken; it either dies of an unconscious dissatisfaction or develops an aloofness from the neighborhood. A contributing factor in this general evolution is the natural sobering of the girl's interest. The method of federation which is interesting girls in the larger group, the neighborhood, and city may in the future save these shattered clubs. At present their only hope is an open door policy which shall bring in new life as fast as the old goes out.

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At nearly all settlements are one or two clubs of young women in the third decade of their lives who have long been affiliated with the house and, not marrying, are encouraged to keep an unbroken connection with it. Fear is occasionally expressed that these members represent a type with standards apart from the great majority of people among whom they live. Power to appreciate and to enjoy the best sometimes increases more rapidly than capacity to earn that wherewith to gratify it. The upshot of this maladjustment may take the form of a deep-seated sense of dissatisfaction and unhappiness in present surroundings and of recoil from the type of home life which the future offers. As time has gone on, settlements have become keenly alive to the situation, and, while still encouraging self-development and aspirations, strive to turn members' minds toward exceptional achievement with the given facts of life. In any case these young women work out the best possibilities of their lot, as they see it, nearly always with nobility of character, and regard their club experience as a reinforcing influence to that end.

So much for the fate of the girl who is left behind; the girl who marries has her own problems. For many young women wedlock marks the transition from a way of life unduly exciting to one which is, in comparison, prosaically and even painfully dull. The years before mating are compounded of work amid scenes of restless movement, expanding standards of pleasure, adventure of varied association with the other sex. The comparative tameness of home life in a tenement with its routine of unaccustomed housework, cut off from working associates and gaiety of dances and parties, frequently carries the bride back into the factory. Since club members when they marry are, as a class, likely to establish themselves elsewhere, so young wives of the district often come from other localities. Thus a restricted lot is often made harder for the newcomer by a feeling of isolation. Settlement residents are therefore inclined to seek out young married women in their neighborhood and to include them in the more general activities of the house. Here and there clubs have been formed devoted to sociability and to the discussion of problems vital to novices in home-making.

Young married mothers are, in most cases, tied down to home

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and babies and must be reached as individuals. The resident nurse and the staff of the baby hygiene and children's dietetic clinics maintain cordial professional and personal relations with them. When the oldest child reaches the fourth year they re-enter group life through the kindergarten mothers' club. In immigrant neighborhoods the club reaches newcomers with small children and does much to establish families in right relations.

In every settlement a number of mature women find the club form rich in possibilities for developing collective capacity and responsibility. In early settlement days the rather simple beginning of group life was made through what is sometimes called a "poverty club." Members were stolid, apparently indifferent to one another, unsure of their surroundings and of themselves. Leaders impressed into service were hard driven to create interest and to secure even a grudging response. Had not the settlement decisively given hostages to fortune, despair might have had its way. Crude activity such as weaving rag rugs or making over old garments, and very simple forms of recreation in which cake and coffee played an important part, were the chief interests. Gradually the sense of release from the tenement into an ampler, more restful and genial atmosphere, created in individuals and finally throughout the group an attitude of response to the leader and of confidence toward one another. No one can watch a process of this kind without being profoundly impressed by the evolution and emancipation of character which it produces.

Somewhat the same experience holds among groups of recent immigrant women of one or another nationality, struggling to maintain the sanctions of their homes against the sweep of a new and alien order. In an atmosphere of appreciation residents draw out memories and traditions of these new acquaintances, and provide them with allies both from their own race and from the new civilization. They listen to hopes and fears for the welfare of children, and assist mothers to understand and deal with problems of education and recreation. Frequently they are able to clear away some of the misunderstandings and obstacles which beset strangers in a strange land, cut off from opportunity of learning new ways by the necessity of staying within doors.

These rudimentary and provisional forms of association among

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mature women are designed to lead members toward participation in what is generally referred to at most settlements as the Women's Club. With an ample nucleus of relatively more alert and capable mothers, this organization undertakes to bring tenement housewives within range of the substantial central interests of the great modern women's movement, creates a circle wherein closely tied and hard-working women may cultivate the amenities of life, and even on occasion revive with almost forgotten abandon some of the gaieties of girlhood. Its meetings offer intelligently framed information about newer aspects of housework, rearing of children, methods of reinforcing the school, jobs for present and prospective wage-earners, relations between mother and daughter when the two are, as sometimes happens, at least an era apart.

Pioneer women residents very generally made adult mothers their special charge, and in consequence women's clubs in the main have had the most resourceful leadership, professional and volunteer, which the settlement has possessed. It would be impossible to overestimate the value of services rendered by a number of able, broad-minded women who have maintained their connection with such clubs year after year. As a result it is perhaps true that a more careful and capable analysis of the married women's interests and outlook has been made than of any other phase of neighborhood life.

Being generally a large group, with increasing diversity of interest, the club often breaks up into smaller homogeneous sections for carrying on enterprises such as co-operative buying, canning, sewing circles, and dramatics. From time to time the club makes special contributions of money and service for enlarging the equipment of the settlement, especially as it affects the welfare of children.

The club has its recognized ways of honoring ability and character in its ranks. A sense of the dignity of motherhood from beginning to end is created even against a pitiful cynicism. A spirit of tolerance and mutual respect gradually replaces the backbiting and worse which can so easily go with the general atmosphere of mean streets. Members return to their households from club meetings with a new confidence based upon knowledge, sustained by a common sentiment, freed from some unrealities of the old status but disclosing more surely than ever its deep essential meaning.

CHAPTER IX

MIXED COMPANY

DURING the first decade of their adventure settlement workers seem hardly to have envisaged the range and complexity of things about them which had to do with the interplay of sex. Residents were chiefly young and unmarried; local sentiment and that of society at large debarred them from direct consideration of such problems. But though they might not speak they could not but observe the behavior of youth on the streets, in dance halls, and specifically at picnics and parties which they undertook to supervise.¹

The establishment of reasonable rules of deportment for gatherings at which youth of both sexes were present, and their enforcement once defined, inspired early residents with something approaching dread. The American standard of association for adolescent young people, with its considerable freedom of movement and its minimum adult oversight and interference, was worked out in a homogeneous village society. It was based on early maturity of powers growing out of participation in productive labor, early assumption of moral responsibility, early marriage. During the eighties, among better-to-do classes in cities, the period of tutelage and education lengthened, and conditions under which young men and young women associated were scrutinized more carefully, their indoor play surrounded by safeguards,

¹ "As an illustration of this difference in standard," wrote Miss Addams in *Twenty Years at Hull House*, "I may instance an early Hull House picnic arranged by a club of young people, who found at the last moment that the club director could not go and accepted the offer of the mother of one of the club members to take charge of them. When they trooped back in the evening, tired and happy, they displayed a photograph of the group wherein each man's arm was carefully placed about a girl; no feminine waist lacked an arm save that of the proud chaperon, who sat in the middle smiling upon all. Seeing that the photograph somewhat surprised us, the chaperon stoutly explained, 'This may look queer to you, but there wasn't one thing about that picnic that wasn't nice,' and her statement was a perfectly truthful one." New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910.

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their traditional liberty away from home decidedly curtailed. Enlightened parents united in the endeavor to create restricted circles with regulations and chaperonage suggestive of older civilizations.

In tenement neighborhoods, on the other hand, the tendency was all the other way. Immigrants coming to America with traditions about guardianship of youth found them currently looked upon as outworn. Boys and girls, leaving school on the hour permitted by compulsory education laws, absolved themselves with their first pay envelope as much as possible from family control. The passing of the home as a place of entertainment for young people made contest with the situation a baffling one. The trying out which under normal conditions the girls' male acquaintances are compelled to undergo at the hands of brothers and sisters, as well as of father and mother, was disappearing. While many parents were cognizant of the significance of these facts, the majority lacked spirit to rebel and accepted all too easily a situation which left them hardly participants in the fate of their children.

Decay of family responsibility was paralleled by breakdown of neighborhood moral standards. Communal resources for recreation were in the hands of irresponsible persons who organized them solely on the basis of money making. Play increasingly took the form of mass gatherings. The serious consequence of this change was not alone the poor quality of recreation provided, but loss of the power which young people gain through organizing and carrying on common enterprises. Serious damage would have remained even though commercial recreation places had provided satisfactory environment and worthy performance. But they did not. Standards of conduct in public resorts, with the connivance of proprietors and baser patrons, had sunk to a level just above that required by police regulations, or even below it where officers were complacent. Lurid melodrama, popular songs with sappy words carried to the edge of vulgarity and linked with puerile melodies of barbarous and insistent rhythm, dance halls where sex suggestion was often reinforced with liquor, seemed created but to play upon ill-curbed instinct. At best, the recreational atmosphere of working-class localities had become surcharged with sensuousness. Even giving full weight to the fact that manual laborers marry from five to ten

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years earlier than professional and business classes, and that the sentimental cycle in some measure must be set ahead, it nevertheless remained true that the emotions of tenement young people were overstrained and coarsened.

The necessity for alternatives which should have real drawing power became increasingly evident as personal acquaintance between residents and neighborhood young people enlarged. Themselves fresh from participation in college festivities and adventuring, residents understood in peculiar measure the innate recreational desires of adolescent boys and girls. They recognized the degree in which play-going, novel reading, gossip, intense and voluble discussion of moral problems, may be made to reveal means for the expression and fulfilment of romantic affection.¹ They were able to anticipate questions about the spirit and procedure of love-making that youth hesitated to ask. They welcomed understandingly that favorite device of adolescence for tapping incognito a possible source of counsel, the hypothetical instance, and answered questioner not less than question.

Some years passed before settlements definitely took what seemed to be the plunge of making positive provision for young people of the two sexes to meet together. After a preliminary stage of small gatherings of a more or less serious sort, it appeared that the activities most avidly sought were those which afforded the largest possible variety of acquaintance with the other sex and with the community at large, such as dances, parties, picnics, and dramatics. Dancing, because it was at once the most desired, most active, most hazardous, and most commercialized form of recreation open to tenement bred young men and women, became the crux of the local program of play.

The early attitude of settlement residents toward dancing ranged from antagonism, through rebellious toleration to complete acceptance by a small minority.² It finally became clear that the question

¹ Settlement residents are frequently asked to recommend a book "that will tell you how to make love properly." The success of "Advice to the Lovelorn" column in daily papers and women's magazines shows how widespread is the desire for help in this vortex of human association.

² At present there are three attitudes toward dancing. Houses founded and maintained by some religious bodies rule it out altogether. A second group of settlements tolerate it as little as possible, while the great majority of houses, which includes all those best known, now offer a reasonable amount of dancing.

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whether or not young people should dance was academic; dance in any case they would. The sole issue was in what surroundings and with what associates they should disport themselves. Dancing therefore began to be permitted at practically all settlements. Some of the simple rules adopted were that responsible chaperons or residents in sufficient number to deal with any emergency should be on hand and that guests must be known to residents or be introduced by a responsible club member. Standards of cleanliness, neatness, deportment, courtesy, and position required by reputable dancing instructors were insisted upon, and reproof and discipline for infringement of rules exercised swiftly and freely.¹

Entering whole-heartedly into this form of recreation and becoming, at first, part of a scene which leaves very much to be desired, the settlement director suggests by humorous by-play, emphasis of approval or suggestion, increasingly pointed rebuke if need be, and above all by thoroughly alert, absorbed, personal example, one gradual move after another toward better and finer standards of speech and conduct. In the publicity of a chosen group, the instinctive impulse of young people to be correct gives the resident in charge especial leverage. Under the head of deportment, points in character can often be made which no deliberately ethical attack could ever reach. A strong tendency gradually develops to have dances become ranking, and to a degree exclusive, affairs, in which persons or attitudes of the baser sort are, to say the least, unwelcome. This is an instance where settlement policy of reaching out toward all sorts and conditions in the local community is honored in the breach. Some houses, when this stage is gained, institute under the residents' full control and under the sanction of obvious hospitality, a type of party which embodies standards that obtain at a college "prom." The list, on such occasions, is likely to be made up more tolerantly than that of the usual small dance, and it is often both encouraging and amusing to see less responsible guests seeking earnestly to get the pace.

With growth of clubs and increase of organized responsibility on the part of the neighborhood, young people are permitted and even

¹ The problem of objectionable forms of dancing, for which sanction of the rich is always alleged, is at best a difficult one. In general, complete prohibition is placed upon them.

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encouraged to arrange and conduct dances. First essays in self-management usually show a lamentable falling off from settlement standards. Those that follow often err on the side of too crude enforcement of rules. In time, however, floor managers learn to impart to the dancing company much of the same tone as that which obtains under direct settlement guidance. The high importance of such parties grows out of the fact that the code of adolescent manners in any locality is set not by outsiders or adults, but by actual procedure of the most admired peers. By making their dances ranking events settlement young people are themselves held within a high range of conduct and their accomplishment sets the pace for other groups in the house and neighborhood. It has become a widespread custom to allow clubs the use of the settlement hall for one, two, or three parties each year, to which they invite the guests and supply music and refreshments.

Once the negative stage of providing an alternative to objectionable dancing resorts has been passed, the settlement naturally turns its attention to offering good instruction in the art for the next younger groups. Quite as athletic games train boys and girls in that co-ordination between thought and movement which is the basis of physical grace and precision, dancing affords a like adjustment between the physical and emotional impulse and those forms of speech and action which impart ease of relationship with one's kind. Boys discover that the degree of cleanliness and neatness expected by dancing masters is not only a matter of regulation, but is enforced by feminine possessors of clean frocks. The girl on her part, as she masters the code of manners taught in the dancing class, becomes more restrained in speech and actions, more critical of boorishness, more self-respecting. The forms demanded by instructors often crystallize into habit and character.

As a rule, settlements carry on at least two dancing classes a week; one for beginners, and an advanced class which meets as a social club. These classes, open freely to the sons and daughters of new racial types, help to bring a properly democratic view into neighborhood society. By the time the season's lessons are completed strangers are often able to qualify in the minds of the established circle for full participation in clubs and in general recreative gatherings. As a rule, also, those who have learned to

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dance well, feeling some of the responsible loyalty of the young graduate, go forth prepared to uphold on all occasions the teachings of the class.

Practically all localities contain a minority, sometimes very considerable numerically, which seeks to play under conditions approaching license. In tenement districts the number in this group is increased by the kind of training given at commercial dance halls. Several settlements, so situated, carry on public dances. These bring residents into contact with some of the community's least disclosed problems. It gives the director of work with young people a basis for the extension of personal acquaintance. On the other hand, constant endeavor is required to enforce proper deportment, and the possibility is ever present that a small number of irresponsibles may demoralize an otherwise orderly assemblage. Patrons have frequently to be asked to leave. Gradually a sifting process takes place as required standards come to be understood and gentle but persistent pressure is kept up toward better things. Once this stage is reached, the dance hall becomes a definite instrument for raising the tone of local recreational interests.

Among successful activities other than dancing which have demonstrated their suitability for groups of young people, are charades, debates, visits to museums, theater parties, attendance on lectures, and dramatics. Clubs of young men and women which meet regularly and carry on a variety of activities, educational and recreational, are fostered at a few settlements. The success of such groups depends on the quality of supervision and on the resourcefulness of director and leaders. The leader must be discerning, gentle, and facile in planning games and other occupations that have a common interest, but still firm on questions of deportment.

Mixed clubs are not regarded with favor by the majority of residents who feel that unjustified risks have to be taken in bringing young men and women together regularly, not because of what may happen while members are with the leader, but because it is inevitable that those least self-restrained will arrange to meet when there is no supervision. On the other hand, the tendency is growing to provide occasional gatherings between boys' and girls' clubs for informal entertainment and choral singing. In some settlements,

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clubs of boys and girls take turns in entertaining one another. In a few instances a room in the settlement house has been set aside where girls may receive young men, a plan successful under especial conditions of chaperonage and club loyalty.

The creation of a sound and fine setting, protective, spirited, and absorbing, wherein those whose minds are converging toward the great adventure of establishing new family groups may proceed to the rightful exultation of their heyday, represents to the settlement a special field for delicate effort. The solution is not essentially different from that devised by matrons of the city's elect. It involves a round of enterprises capable of thoroughly and continuously engrossing, while they are together, the mental and physical energies of a selected but gradually widening constituency of young people. It calls for the presence of adults, some of them matrons of the neighborhood and mothers of house members, pledged to see that these functions are managed wisely and carefully, and that something of positive idealism respecting human relations is elicited. Such a program seeks to exalt the neighborhood circle and to set it against the lure of the downtown commercial amusement center. The fact that each person is known to chaperons and to participants, that his or her behavior is watched and commented on with the possibility of a report to parents, recaptures the moral quality which runs through well-conducted village life.

At the very best, however, accomplishment in the difficult field of association between young men and young women falls short of what residents would wish, and considerably below their dreams. As in so many other matters, they find themselves seeking to train a generation of children which shall exemplify as adolescents a more finely attuned intelligence and a soundly romantic emotional life.¹ Such work involves starting as nearly as possible at the foundations. Little children between four and eight years of age need for their proper physical and moral development opportunity to participate in a rich and varied scheme of games. Not least among the deficiencies of a tenement environment is the poverty-stricken play tradition handed on to boys and girls. It would be hard to invent a commentary on a civilization more caustic than the episodes dramatized upon the streets by little children. Lady Bum and

¹ See Appendix, p. 409, Note 1.—Sex Education.

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Cop, Police Patrol, Burglar, the latest crime or sex scandal, are significant not so much in their immediate vulgarity as because they are material with which mind and memory are being outfitted.

Settlement residents have their own evidence for believing that it is unfortunate when custom, through toys, stories, and precept too early centers the interest of girls on games of the quieter sort. During this period they have much the same instincts, desires, and modes of expression as little boys. It is a growing custom in settlements to bring small boys and girls together in active play. Those in charge of playground, playroom, kindergarten graduates' club, game room, story hour, and similar enterprises teach the immemorial pastimes which have nurtured childhood. Pains are taken, in the midst of such activities, to explain the principles that should rule the relation between boys and girls and girls and boys, and to see that they are exemplified.¹

A somewhat late development, getting its motive partly out of the logic of work with adolescent boys and girls, is the children's dancing class. It is a commonplace that those forms of education which involve active co-ordination of muscle and mind are best taught as early as training can profitably be given. Establishment of good canons of conduct, worked into the child's muscular and nervous system partly by his own keen and eager choice, partly by importunity of elders, provides firm safeguards against the future. In well-to-do communities the dancing school directly under the patronage of parents and neighbors has long been an important instrument for juvenile discipline. Settlement workers believe that similar instruction for tenement children is among the most valuable instruments for bringing out the attitude and sentiments which should go with the relation of the sexes. It is one of their hopes that the folk dancing which constitutes an important part of all children's classes may have some real effect upon future dancing forms.²

The years between eight and twelve are distinguished by high individualism and by a certain apathy rather than attraction be-

¹ A few houses have a loan collection of games from which materials for play are withdrawn for use in the settlement and at home. The game room frequently becomes a recruiting station, where new acquaintance can be made with children and new groups formed.

² See Appendix, p. 411, Note II.—Playtime Activities for Children.

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tween boys and girls. The work of the educator is fulfilled by providing that modest degree of association called for in festivals and occasional gatherings. This lull immediately before the stormy weather of adolescence is therefore best given to training boys and girls in separate groups. The experienced club director, as this stage nears its close, anticipates the crude re-establishment of acquaintance on street corners by arranging parties, plays, or picnics.

Such a program demands a very considerable degree of resourceful supervision on the part of residents and directors of club work, and can be accomplished only when the settlement has come into close quarters with its locality and knows a good proportion of neighborhood children intimately. It also involves a scheme of club and class work which progresses from stage to stage and offers a variety of interests. Where there is a parallel scheme of boys' clubs and girls' clubs, and right collective sentiments have been established in dancing classes and large-scale events, the transition usually comes about naturally enough, though even here there is always need for careful work with exceptional individuals and groups.

Minds of children and youth are in important, though by no means overwhelming measure, formed by adults with whom they are surrounded. The narrow traditions and undeveloped sentiments which so generally govern relations between husband and wife in tenements came to early residents almost with a sense of shock. The policy of trying to involve both father and mother in the affairs of their boys and girls was struck out not merely to help the child, but through him to discover motives that appeal first to each parent and then to both together. Adult life centers to a peculiar degree about its hopes and pleasures in offspring. While the child finds it difficult to understand his elders, the adult comprehends in himself all that has gone before. His nature craves some echo of former experience. Separated from the activities of their children, parents are too likely to relapse into something approaching stagnation.

Progress in bridging the gap of years continues to be discouragingly slow. Attendance on meetings with the younger element is in the main a monopoly of mothers. It should be said, however, that in many cases the father is committing himself to the situation

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by spending the evening at home taking care of smaller children. When so much ground has been gained a way is opened by which the tactful resident can begin to establish a direct personal foothold with men, which often leads in informal ways to more or less continuous consultation and co-operation.

The cumulative effort of years to bring boys and girls into rightly conducted association is having an effect on adult recreation. A few houses carry on dancing classes for parents. Clubs, the membership of which goes by families, and the program of which includes music, talks, games, as well as dancing, are in existence at a few houses. The parties which so generally go with club dramatics are participated in by adults as well as youths. Parents of boys and girls affiliated with the house are in the course of a year brought into relations with one another. Festivals, old home parties, New Year's, and other holiday celebrations often bring large numbers of adult neighbors of both sexes together. Under stimulus of old music and traditional dances the company revives, oftentimes with astonishing accuracy and *vivre*, the spirit of its own youth. These red-letter events for the elders keep alive a glow of fellowship among like conditioned and give recurrent evidence of the settlement's reach in the neighborhood. Some efforts are made to induce that sort of comradeship among young married couples often so delightful a phase of life in well-to-do communities; but this seems to presuppose a kind of relation between men and women of which, as has been suggested, even the beginnings are rarely found in tenement neighborhoods.

As the settlement program broadens and deepens, coming into close touch with husbands and wives in their problems of physical well-being, of livelihood, and of general local good, their readiness to enter jointly as neighbors into plans combining entertainment and sociability grows by what it feeds upon. In this number, almost universally among the settlements, are at least a few couples who, as club members from early childhood, have risen through a full ascending scale of purposeful group life. Marriage has been the culmination of happy association in varied interest which brought together young men and young women. Different couples who have gone through this succession of experience, more or less as contemporaries, begin to constitute a convinced and

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ready supporting element, not only for promotion of occasional liberating gatherings of younger married people, but for all that is undertaken at the settlement toward the creation of a wholesome and enlightened scheme, in the sense which this chapter suggests of neighborhood society.

CHAPTER X

SUMMER IN THE CITY

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the attitude of many Americans toward tenement neighborhoods during the summer was comparable to that of an Oxford undergraduate who opened conversation with a member of the Toynbee Hall Men's Club on a day's outing in August by asking, "Are there many people in town now?" "Only about five millions," was the laconic reply. From June until October the well-to-do, and those middle-class families whose comings and goings were governed by the educational year, transferred their consciousness into the country. The machinery of religious, educational, and philanthropic organization which they controlled slowed down or stopped altogether. In the beginning, settlements, with some notable exceptions, partly acquiesced in this procedure. Club and class meetings were discontinued early in the spring, a considerable proportion of residents left the city, and there was a tendency to mark time until autumn.

Fortunately, through human interest as well as obvious duty, responsible leaders stood by. They quickly became aware that among the tenements summer is pre-eminently "the season." Family life is transferred to windows and doorsteps. Streets and particularly public squares become general evening rendezvous. People visit friends and relatives, seek out popular beaches, amusement parks, and open-air dance halls. With endless variations youth sets out on the great adventure.

The quality of geniality and expansiveness which goes with outdoor life offered a precious opportunity for initiation into some of the freest and most spontaneous manifestations of working-class sociability. Residents who paused to offer a first hesitating salutation at the doorstep, found the way opened to acquaintance with families as families. They easily came to be on speaking terms with other households domiciled in the same or adjacent buildings.

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The structure of family life and of neighborly interplay took on new reality in the open. Summer revealed itself an ideal time for carrying on those forms of unconventional influence which are best imparted in the course of small talk, anecdote, and personal reminiscence.

The settlement motive of sharing experience and opportunity, during seasons of extreme heat became a positive and even a painful actuality. The burden of high temperature, lifeless air, foul odors, never-ending noise, and worst of all, the depressing sense of adjacent privation, suffering, and shame was accentuated by thoughts of the open country. While winter activities were in part determined on the basis of reflection, the summer program sprang out of downright fellow-feeling.

Several very simple forms of helpful overture directed toward lessening, particularly for small children, the physical discomfort of heat, were an important means of bringing residents into working relations with neighbors. The affinity between children and drinking water is proverbial. The cup having once been literally offered, boys and girls congregated about the front door in continuous supplication. Among the first pieces of special equipment at most settlements were drinking-fountains. Young and old who drank were usually ready for their part in further enterprises. Residents and neighbors joined in successful overtures to civic organizations and municipalities for the establishment of public fountains.

Hardly, if at all less obvious, was the necessity for bathing facilities, with the habits that, under training, go with them. Hot, dirty, uncomfortable children playing about settlement doorsteps were haled in by sympathetic residents and bathed. Use of the settlement tub was offered to a few neighboring women and their broods. Where room could be found extra tubs were installed and a small charge made to cover cost of soap and towels. The educational result stood out unmistakably. The habit of cleanliness is most easily established at a time when its opposite is physically very uncomfortable. Once the body registers its satisfaction in soap and water, the momentum of an inner impulse in favor of a clean skin has been created.

Difficulties experienced by children in playing games constantly interrupted by traffic, and the aimlessness of that major proportion

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which made no attempt at vigorous self-expression, led residents to open their back yards to small boys and girls. Swings, hammocks, sand-piles, and simple toys were provided. Members of the staff took turns in teaching games, settling quarrels, and exercising that normal human interference which children not only need but crave.¹ Children found their way into the settlement kitchens, and the authorities in charge remembered the cookie-jar. Residents turned envious eyes on all unused land in the neighborhood. Yards and basements of schools, idle behind high fences during the hours between the close of school and darkness, on Saturdays, and throughout the long summer vacation, belied the fostering spirit which they were supposed to embody. Trespass signs about old and disused burial grounds, in the light of the crying need of children, conveyed a Chinese sense of the dead crowding the living.

Among the first important undertakings of most of the settlements was the creation of one or more good-sized semi-public play spaces. Founders of East Side House, New York, laid out a half acre about their fine old mansion as an athletic field, one of the earliest in the United States. Residents at Hull House persuaded the owner of a block of tenement property to remove the houses and turn the land into a recreation ground. Possessors of vacant lots granted their use to children when residents offered to grade and supervise the property. Space about churches, factories, and public institutions, basements of large buildings, unused docks and boats, were laid hold upon as opportunity offered. Land in nearby suburbs was borrowed for athletic teams.

In early appeals for playgrounds it was often intimated that if only land and apparatus could be secured, children would care for themselves. Experience made it clear that under city conditions unsupervised spaces are merely an extension of the streets. Settlement playgrounds became experiment stations on which to test forms of open-air activity capable of producing educational results. Sand-bins, swings, and material for games were provided for small children, who were placed under direction of kindergarten instructors; while for older boys and girls there were trained leaders,

¹ Rear yards continue to be maintained for the use of small children, and provide for a few of them that appropriate and exclusive opportunity which the science of city planning must somehow manage to make available to all.

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special apparatus, and athletic leagues. At night the grounds were lighted to meet the needs of employed young people for vigorous recreation. Later progress is strikingly exemplified by such enterprise as the playground city at Hiram House, Cleveland. It combines training in self-government with instruction in craftwork and home-making, many carefully organized forms of active games, evening band concerts, and outdoor motion pictures.

Effort to make connection between open country and tenement began with the birth of the settlement. Residents customarily brought back wild and garden flowers from week-end visits, which were distributed among the sick and bedridden.¹ During the decade of 1890 a number of houses formed committees to solicit blossoms, and suburban and rural gardens were regularly drawn on. The organization of state and national societies to collect the flowers freed settlements to attend to the work of local distribution.²

The ethical by-products of such work were discovered to be not less important than the direct pleasure conveyed. Residents learned to depend on that fairylike charm which flowers possess to clear the mind, strengthen the better emotions, uplift the imagination, and refine manners. Much necessary running about incident to their distribution is undertaken by club members, who suggest the names of sick, aged, shut-in, and especially appreciative people. Children and young people thus experience a sense of participation in generous service and gain a wholesome feeling of being junior colleagues with the residents.

Finely potent as is the distribution of cut blossoms, it has definite limitations. The next stage in promoting the influences that go with the possession of flowers is to help neighbors to raise their own. Here, too, there are deep-seated instincts to count upon. The impulse to grow things is almost ineradicable. A sickly gera-

¹ Expansion of this motive owes much to the late Jacob Riis who, while a reporter on a New York paper, brought blossoms from his garden for children who way-laid him at the ferry wharf. The custom of sending flowers used in the church service to sick and shut-in members of congregation and community is very old, and that of asking young women's organizations of the church to be responsible for gathering or procuring flowers hardly less established. Only a slight extension of motive and organization was therefore needed. With characteristic human impetuosity Mr. Riis called on such societies as the King's Daughters to extend the service broadly, and it quickly became a very typical religious philanthropy.

² The National Fruit and Flower Guild was organized in 1896.

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nium struggling against fate in a tin can is as much a standard tenement furnishing as palm, rubber plant, or fern in middle-class living room. The window box, sold with loam and a choice of seeds, brings to children an instance of that dramatic suspense and discipline in patience which work with plants affords. It likewise makes an appeal all its own to country-bred parents. In certain neighborhoods so considerable a share of householders display window boxes that for several months streets take on an almost festive air. Thus the people of the locality, having bought at a common source and compared experience and results, have a fresh sense of the possibilities of collective action.¹

In a few cities the creation of flower and vegetable gardens in rear yards has been encouraged. Unfortunately, private rights in produce are so highly uncertain that truck gardens have not had the success they theoretically deserve. Strangely enough, however, the instinct for common land makes it possible to establish school and community gardens with a much greater measure of good result. Ground is borrowed, an instructor secured, and small plots assigned to individual children or to households. Neighbors find in the tilled plot a common interest, and an additional focus is created about which community consciousness may form.²

Acquaintance with child life in the tenements revealed to residents the hazard which follows the sudden discontinuance of regular school routine. Dowered with a wealth of leisure beyond profitable use even from their own point of view, children ran wild and sought mischief as a relief from idleness of mind and hand. The vacation so earnestly desired in the spring became a burden before September. Some form of enterprise that not only reduced the risk of demoralization but offered a wholesome and happy outlet for child activity was called for. Since attendance would be voluntary, occupations must be attractive and be directed by teachers who could accentuate their appeal. An extra term of kindergarten work was arranged for small children, and handwork, spiced with music, entertainments, and picnics for the preadolescent child.³

¹ See Appendix, p. 412, Note III.—Window-Box Gardening.

² See Appendix, p. 413, Note IV.—Vacant Lot and School Gardens.

³ The pioneer vacation school in the United States was started in the old First Church of Boston in 1866. Later, Providence, Newark, and New York all tried the

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The settlement summer school put into form a variety of departures in matter and method of instruction; brought residents definitely into counsel with a considerable group of parents; and surprised children with the discovery that school and pastime, teacher and playmate, are not mutually exclusive ideas.¹

With the achievement of specially designed settlement buildings, roof gardens became an increasing resource. Situated above street sights, smells, and noises, these aeries enable children to enjoy the fascination of a prospect over ranges of roofs, increase their sense for topography and its historical and more immediate associations, and afford a little better acquaintance with the sky. During the day the garden is set apart for ailing babies, for kindergarten, or for quiet games followed by a story hour. The various methods through which flowers and even vegetables are grown to make the roof a garden, become matters of keen common interest among a large circle.

Thus, after long experience, settlements find themselves able to maintain a series of group interests during hot weather sufficiently varied to provide for most of the preadolescent children in the immediate neighborhood. Such a program requires some form of kindergarten, a vacation school, a playground with a large-scale scheme of educational play and properly directed athletic contests.²

That an equal recreative scheme for working boys and girls must also be devised has gradually become evident. Physical relaxation in warm weather and its almost inevitable accompaniment of lowered capacity for moral response, together with suspension of all experiment. It was not until 1895, however, that the idea began to spread to other cities. See Appendix, p. 413, Note V.—Vacation Schools.

¹ During the past fifteen years parents in well-conditioned localities have begun to ask that schools dismiss earlier in June and begin later in September that children might have the advantage of a longer stay in the country. In working-class localities the instinct of parents is in the opposite direction. Settlements in several communities have given expression to this desire by protesting against projects to reduce the school year.

² An original and interesting scheme of this sort was devised in the summer of 1907 by Dr. James H. Hamilton, headworker of University Settlement in New York. Six large clubs were formed, called after days of the week. Three were for boys and three for girls. No limit was placed on the size of the club, every applicant being registered without question. Each club met for practically the whole morning, and the program included a lesson in calisthenics followed by a bath; a club meeting, made as entertaining and instructive as possible; and a motion picture show as a closing event. This last attraction kept up attendance and carried other portions of the scheme.

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opportunities for sociability under restraint at the precise moment when association is most desired, constitute in themselves a series of positive, if unwitting, calls for assistance. Added to these dangers is the fact that the romantic suggestions of spring and summer are thoroughly exploited by commercial amusement resorts.

Settlement residents have learned that the craving of young people for purposeful association is not an exclusively cold weather phenomenon. The unrest that precedes discontinuance of class and club work was found to be more induced than real. Groups of boys and young men continued to gather in the gymnasium at certain times for exercise and talk. It was not the desire for association that was affected by the season but its forms.

Slowly, but very surely, a series of activities were developed to meet the special dangers, without and within, which beset youth. Once playground privileges for children had been secured, several houses planted their rear yards with shrubs and flowers for use of young people and adults. Open-air concerts, planned and impromptu, were frequent, the audience on such occasions being limited only by window capacity.¹

Desire to meet perils connected with unsupervised summer dancing induced several settlements to provide semi-public dances either within doors or on a platform in the open air, undertakings successful only when accompanied by exceptional supervision and positive and responsible support by a strong nucleus of neighborhood young people. Experience gained from these ventures makes clear beyond doubt that the moral welfare of young life in any community can only with great difficulty be safeguarded at even the best managed public dances. As a partial foil to such attractions the plan of keeping open house one or two evenings a week for girls, and an equal number for boys, known to residents, has been adopted at some of the houses. One evening a week both boys

¹ Settlements have occasionally given band concerts on special occasions such as the opening of small neighborhood parks. Several settlements offer weekly band concerts and picture shows on the local playground. Greenwich House, during seven or eight years, provided an outdoor concert in front of the settlement on Saturday evenings. Auditors gathered from all about the neighborhood. Children danced in the street and the young people on the smoother floor of the settlement house. The custom had finally to be given up because roughs from other communities congregated and made it difficult to keep order. Since 1918 it is becoming a custom for orchestras connected with settlement music schools and departments to conduct a summer series of outdoor concerts.

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and girls are invited to meet together. Clubs for adolescent young people, at a rapidly growing proportion of houses, are organized on a twelve-month basis.¹

Along with the work of building up a summer scheme of wholesome educational recreation within the neighborhood goes organization of day outings. To most settlement workers a poignant deprivation of tenement life is its isolation from the engaging, harmonizing, and inspiring influences of nature, and from the high stimulation of a green and growing world. Pioneers who made a point of taking groups of young people on excursions to beaches and summer resorts remember with peculiar pleasure that they cemented lasting ties under such genial conditions. Practically all settlements arrange one or more outings under supervision of residents or volunteers for each of the various clubs and classes, and to mothers, infants, and small children offer a summer-long series. A number of houses also organize an annual neighborhood picnic or field day, patterned on the excursions so distinctive of local churches and political bodies. An important educational advantage of settlement outings is the experience which participants acquire of city recreational resources. Working people are often ignorant of all but the most advertised commercial resorts and public parks. The quieter places, if known, are neglected because they are supposed to be dull. In this matter as in others a last fruit of intelligence is both to desire the best and to go forth and seek it.

The other side of the story is the failure of responsible community leaders to advertise outing resources and to interpret the pleasurable experiences they offer in a way to attract wage-earners. Settlements have made a beginning by passing the word about with respect to such opportunities, and by piloting selected groups to new places. An essential part of this work is, by spirited comment on the part of the leader, to prepare people emotionally to understand and take advantage of the finer kinds of outings. The great majority desires to be reinforced in its opinions; it craves an accompaniment to action not unlike the chorus in a Greek drama.

Many settlements supplement their day expeditions by assemb-

¹ University Settlement in New York kept the house open as early as the summer of 1894.

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ling groups to take advantage of the boat rides and excursions provided by newspapers and fresh-air societies. Others refuse to distribute tickets or make up parties unless a full complement of leaders chosen by the settlement accompanies those selected. There is always possibility that unchaperoned children and young people may come into touch with lurking sources of evil, the influence of which easily outweighs any gain to health or any increment of happiness.

A number of houses solicit the use at stated intervals of carriages or automobiles in which aged and infirm are driven to city parks. A few have regular use of a carryall for crippled children. While effort of this sort is not large in bulk it is a real and satisfying element in neighborhood organization. The goodwill of the community concedes the desirability of some slightly luxurious recreation to brighten the specially hard conditions of hampered age or childhood.

The best day outing, according to settlement opinion, cuts across class lines and enlarges the experience of all who participate by making them acquainted with other types of individual, family, and community life.¹ Pioneers hoped that the English custom whereby owners of country estates offered the hospitality of their grounds to city dwellers might be substantially duplicated. Though these expectations have been realized only in part, the response of college societies, women's clubs, church organizations, and informal suburban and village groups has been generous. Hospitality offered year after year by the same hosts and enjoyed by the same guests holds people of varied fortune together. Many men and women among the professional and business classes through this means have gained an increased sense of underlying kinship with working people and are more ready on occasion to make common cause with them. The tenement family on its part, as various members enter into this heritage of hospitality, comes to have one more delightful and unifying experience. Fellow club members and neighbors, with this experience in common, find

¹ Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago, in 1902, tried the experiment of sending boys to act as caddies on a suburban golf links. The boys thus spent the day out of doors, made a little money, and came into contact with men who sometimes helped them to get a start in industry. After several years the scheme was given up because the settlement was not in a position to exercise proper supervision.

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that it draws them together and makes the city neighborhood, in this degree, more coherent.

The experience of three decades in meeting problems of the hot months in tenement neighborhoods has transformed the attitude of the settlement. The summer is now regarded as a time for gathering up results of the winter's work and for starting new forms of enterprise. Schools, sports, and outings afford stimulating opportunities to test new educational ideas and methods. Casual clues discovered by residents and club leaders in regard to the desires, aims, and capacity of the people are restudied and sifted. Above all, participation between parents, children, and club leaders in the co-operative intimacy of parties and outings creates a genuine and pervasive flux of understanding.

CHAPTER XI

COUNTRY VACATION CENTERS

WHEN the original settlements approached the problem of their first summer they found themselves in a certain community of interest with fresh-air societies which had been providing vacations for some local children. Residents sought such privileges for members of their own classes, and in many instances accompanied groups to assigned vacation houses or farms. But the instinctive desire for a scheme more personal in its care of health, its organization of recreation, and its associated activity than that provided by centrally organized fresh-air societies early led them to establish rural resorts of their own. Where large numbers are cared for, individuals inevitably are taken more or less at hazard. Additional members are sometimes introduced at the last moment into carefully formed groups. Occasionally the sending agency is not aware of undesirable changes which have taken place in moral standards prevailing at recommended places in the country. Or children coming from the better homes of a neighborhood are lonely and lost among the rougher element.

The settlement vacation house, demanding relatively high standards of cleanliness and manners from prospective guests and charging fees closely approximating cost of food, has much of the quality of an experiment in consumers co-operation. Difficulties were not lacking in the stage of establishment.¹ Parents accustomed to send their children to the country through existing agencies hesitated to pay for what they had never thought of as a possible charge on income. Families, more self-sustaining, who also

¹ A few settlements have organized and developed large-scale camps similar to those maintained by newspaper and other fresh-air societies. Such camps draw their constituency from all over the city and hardly come within the range of the distinctive neighborhood ventures of the typical settlement. Most of them, however, have incorporated something of the settlement method of payment and supervision. The most important among such camps is Lillian Home, maintained by Kingsley House, Pittsburgh.

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had a limited sense of the meaning to children of a taste of rural life, recoiled at first from what had been associated in their minds with charity. Gradually through actual test of experience, the first mentioned parents have learned to find privilege and reward in meeting a substantial share of the expenses for an outing; the others, meeting all essential costs, have, in the main, gradually come to be loyal adherents of the settlement vacation scheme. In fact it soon appeared that boys and girls themselves, given a sense of personal stake in the vacation center and moved by the contagious enthusiasm of clubmates, easily contrive with the help of parents to save money enough for the adventure. During July and August, the run on stamp-savings banks furnishes a warm weather counterpart of the Christmas withdrawal.¹

Preparations for the outing period which go on both at the settlement and in the homes have an exceptional and far-reaching influence. Nature study and camp cooking classes are formed in early spring, and typical phenomena of the countryside about the vacation center are explained and commented upon. Excursions are made to near rural resorts. The necessity of talking over finances, clothing, cleanliness, medical care, time and place of departure and return, general regulations and personal duties at the country house, give residents a kind of leverage both with children and parents which hardly develops in any other phase of their work. Meetings of mothers are held to explain the reasons for various rulings about clothing and regimen. Each prospective camper is examined by physician or trained nurse, and neglected ailments or uncleanness debar until conditions are remedied. Thus before the vacation begins and quite aside from what it may

¹ Charge for the summer outing varies according to the city, house, and expense of running the plant. It is a general aim that charges shall cover cost of food and service exclusive of supervision. A few houses reduce costs to guests by paying for work they do in the garden or about the place. The following rates per week are based on a large number of cases and represent pre-war prices. They do not include the cost of transportation:

Babies	Free
Children under 6 years	\$1.00
Children, 6-10 years	1.00-1.50
Children, 10-12 years	1.00-2.00
Children, 12-16 years	2.00-2.50
Young people, 16-21 years	2.50-4.50
Adults	3.50-5.00

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later mean in itself, fresh interests are cultivated, higher sanctions of conduct adopted, and a more downright responsibility assumed for health and well-being.¹

Settlement vacation centers in point of actual layout and administration are of three types. A few houses provide special camps in different localities for each of three or four age and sex groups.² The majority, however, maintain a single camp, to which children, young people, and adults go in succession. A small number of settlements are in possession of a sizable estate upon which are separate houses and camps for various groups. These three forms of equipment subdivide again with respect to continuance of tenure. The permanent establishment has very decided advantages over a base changed from time to time, although experience has shown that the part of wisdom is to go through a preliminary stage before making final decisions.³

There are several attitudes toward the practical side of vacation house organization. One group of settlements favors making the camp as simple and inexpensive as possible. The main thing, they believe, is to get people into the country; conditions at camp are incidental and are considered mainly with the dominant end in view. Shelter consists of rough shacks, with not too much attention to sanitation. The enterprise is purposely kept extremely primitive.

In contrast with this point of view, a small group of houses endeavors to reproduce a type of home life in the country which approximates the American standard of living. Buildings are well constructed and cared for and the tone of association is kept high.

¹ Most houses distribute printed or typewritten lists of necessary articles of clothing, directions for reaching the vacation house, the requirements of the camp, and suggestions concerning the order and spirit.

² The problem of the sexes in arranging summer vacations is a serious one. The most pronounced tendency is to send boys and girls to separate places, or if to the same place, at separate times, though this rule is not invariable. A few houses as a matter of policy send groups of older young people of both sexes to camp at the same time, with strict oversight and chaperonage.

³ Settlements have made some interesting experiments with unusual types of property; one adapted the grounds and buildings of an agricultural association; another a mansion on a municipal reserve; others have utilized stores or other large buildings. Hull House for several years conducted a summer school in buildings of Rockford Academy. The term lasted six weeks, instruction being furnished by academy teachers and University Extension lecturers. A few persons have opened their homes to settlement groups; and a number of settlement boys' clubs have been the guests of a boys' camp connected with an academy or preparatory school.

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A third group, and the largest, takes a midway course. Equipment corresponds to that of the average lower middle-class summer resort, sanitation is carefully guarded, and as much distinction as possible given to the tone of group life.

The fact that the settlement seeks the full advantage to be gained from association within the group and between members and leaders, naturally conditions the organization of the vacation center. Wherever possible a tried and responsible resident is in charge, with an assistant for every ten visitors. Care is taken that at least one leader shall have known nearly all the guests in their city background; very often a regular director of winter clubs is in attendance. The atmosphere of the camp is thus analogous partly to that of a friendly boarding house and partly to that of a school camp managed by cultivated men and women who are in some measure hosts and hostesses.

For the purpose of the settlement it is a vitally important fact that club directors attain a wholly different stage of insight and influence at the country center. Young guests, under the emotional impression of a strange yet appealing world, are at first nearly always homesick. Regarded previously as of another and perhaps a somewhat alien order, the host suddenly turns out to be to them the one adult who is near and dear. They become susceptible and confidential to a degree. The relation is a stirring one to all concerned; and when a happy return home is made, the system for which the settlement stands is seen with new eyes and with some measure of convinced appreciation.

The unconscious training in order and cleanliness, in good manners and kindly service, which goes on through unaffected expression of the director's personal standards, is an important part of the results of camp life. Old and tried rules of human intercourse are seen as more than a stiff veneer for special occasions; they justify themselves on a working basis. As members of a given club eat and sleep and work together day after day, they try out one another in a variety of new ways and with a certain intensity not attainable in the city. Increased goodwill makes itself felt thereafter in all the ordinary relationships of life. So true is this that the settlement as a training school in personal and group relations is having perhaps its completest measure of fulfilment in the country.

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The settlement camp, like an army, moves on its stomach. The majority of houses plant gardens which supply small fruits and vegetables.¹ The menu, dressing of the table, conversation while eating, are planned to exemplify a stimulating standard of living; while among guests, the articles of food provided, methods of cooking, and quantity placed upon the table receive a degree of attention both penetrating and sustained.

Although the time of children and young people should be organized, almost all camp leaders believe that too much can be done in this direction. Visitors should have some free hours at their disposal to fill from their own resources. Picnics, walks and berrying parties, field days, and entertainments are favorite recreations. Some camps provide a simple course in nature study. A number of houses have swimming and wading pools; a few are in possession of boats and vehicles.

The season at most vacation camps is opened by kindergarten children and mothers. Certain settlements transfer the kindergarten, with all its teachers and as many mothers as possible, into the country for the last ten days of June. Nature work is carried out under ideal conditions, mothers are trained in some of the simpler procedure of the kindergarten, the life of the camp is made an object lesson in care of children. A few settlements have country houses which are reserved for babies, small children, and their mothers. Boys' groups and girls' groups between the ages of seven and twelve years are usually sent to the vacation house separately, and often alternately. Children in this stage need constant fostering care and oversight, and the director of children's work at the settlement usually accompanies them.

As boys and girls approach adolescence, camp procedure accommodates itself to their increased physical powers. Boys eagerly crave a suggestion of wild freedom and rough adventure which goes with life in a tent or shack. By dividing camp work among them the per capita cost is materially reduced and the problem of discipline more easily met. In many cases, under the stimulus of direct

¹ During the war a number of settlements planted considerable areas to root crops, which were in large part cultivated by the visitors. Excess fruits and green vegetables were canned. Both winter vegetables and canned goods were later sold to neighbors.

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contact with nature, boys take readily not only to chores but to the rudiments of camp cookery. A settlement often, therefore, carries on a separate camp for boys even when it owns a country house. New sites are selected from time to time both to meet the boys' desire for untried places and because of the changed control of land. A few houses, however, have permanently located boys' camps, with well built shacks and a regulation camping outfit.

Particularly for boys, the two-weeks' vacation period represents a lower limit imposed by necessity rather than in any sense an adequate time unit. Various means have been devised for lengthening the period without making the cost prohibitive to parents. Several settlements conduct "travel camps," the boys walking through mountains or other interesting country finding their expenses by giving shows or picking fruit. The director of clubs accompanies the hikers, supervises their occupation, and organizes recreation.

Hale House, Boston, has for twenty years, through the interest of one of its trustees, cared for an "all summer" squad of boys who show mental or moral promise, in the belief that their vacation is an investment toward larger future usefulness. A certain number of delicate boys are always included. The camp is organized under the best military standards. A bunk house is so arranged that campers sleep practically in the open; while a shack can be converted into a rainy-day dining and lounging room. Leaders selected from recent graduates at the universities are in charge. Careful records are kept of physical and moral progress. These, confirmed by later results, show that the all-summer outing is a highly important agency for bringing tenement house boys to a distinctly new outlook on life.

An all-summer plan which lightens the problem of financial support has been developed by South End House, Boston, which since 1907 has supplied caddies for several hotels in the White Mountains. The boys earn their expenses and a varying money bonus. Leaders devote themselves to managing the camp, overseeing boys on the links, consulting with players in the boys' interest, carefully supervising financial relations, arranging sports, entertainments, and whatever may conduce to make the summer beneficial. The fruits of this work are seen in a distinctly better set-up and more manly type of neighborhood youth and young man, in an enlightened

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gang loyalty which has been instrumental in developing a more unified neighborhood spirit and a more responsive citizenship.

When settlements came on the scene thirty years ago, young men's political and social clubs occasionally hired a week-end shack at one of the nearby summer resorts. Settlement clubs of older boys and men sometimes maintain headquarters of this sort, and they evince an increasing tendency to offer hospitality to boys, or even to manage a camp for the younger generation. In a few instances, houses in possession of a large tract of land allow young men's clubs to set up shacks of their own. On the whole, however, organization of vacation outings for members of this age group has not proceeded far. Some form of week-end camp at a not too great distance from the city and with accommodations that permit intermittent coming and going, seems the best provision for working youths, and a few settlements have undertaken to provide such camps.

Separate vacation centers for girls and young women are not uncommon. Where capacity of the settlement's single country house is limited, it is likely to be reserved for children and their mothers. Several settlements so situated are in possession of a camp devoted to school girls. Guests are usually in charge of the director of girls' work, assisted by various club leaders. Living arrangements are kept as simple and wholesome as possible, with insistent emphasis on lively outdoor activities.

Young working girls are not very enthusiastic over a resort pointedly organized to meet needs of parents and children. Imbued with orthodox doctrine about the inherent rights and powers of the "summer girl," they have an eye turned toward adventure and even seek to create it if it does not appear. The city girl benefits most from holidays in which she experiences nature in its more primitive aspects, while they also meet her natural demand for variety, romance, and excitement. The problem of the chance male acquaintance is an ever-present one, and often means that a new location must be found. Certain settlements fall in with the girls' demand for novelty by hiring cottages at different resorts from year to year. An increasing number of older girls' clubs rent and manage cottages within easy reach of the city. One of the

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girls' mothers or a neighbor is in charge, the settlement merely assisting with advice and some slight degree of supervision.

A few settlements reserve cottages for families. In several instances the women's club leases a house and members go in rotation. A considerable measure of success has attended the few experiments of this sort. Wherever possible, the settlement encourages families to seek out their own vacation places. Boarding houses in the vicinity of the camp are drawn upon to care for parents of club members.

The most interesting type of plant provides adequate land and equipment for different age and sex groups. Return to the same place season after season gives in a high degree a sense of participation in the natural life of the country. Working people are thus enabled to experience some of the satisfactions which more prosperous classes seek through long-continued residence at summer homes. Absorption of the chief characteristics of a country landscape, ability to join freely with family and friends in a different mode of life, the sharing of new and vital customs, are certainly among the most profoundly influential of all human experiences.

Home life, too, receives valuable reinforcement. Mothers and children are enabled to take a vacation together, and where the country house is within easy reach of the city, fathers participate during week ends. Fresh effort toward reciprocal forbearance is necessary where members of the family meet together under strange conditions. The fact that parents, brothers, and sisters have had the same stock of enlivening interests creates a fund of memories which continues to refresh and reinforce the common sentiments of the home.

As the proportion of people in a city community attached to a vacation center increases, the content of experience becomes richer both for individuals and neighborhood; and the readiness of both to do their part becomes unmistakable. Women's clubs contribute funds for house linen, dishes, cooking equipment, and sometimes provide for children who could not otherwise be included. Boys' and girls' clubs combine to raise money with which to finance improvements such as a water system, a wading pool, or play apparatus. Substantial pledges of work and funds are likely to be made in connection with reunions of vacation groups during

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the winter. Wherever possible, fall and spring week-end parties to the country centers are arranged.¹

Relations of leaders and guests with rural life at the permanent country house are often mutually helpful. The settlement sometimes lends a hand in developing community interests of a nearby village through organizing entertainments, helping to secure a visiting nurse, a recreation center, or some other public need.²

The effort to create a country home for the house membership is in many settlements accompanied by attempts to outline a program of vacation opportunity for the neighborhood at large.³ The practicability of a plan so comprehensive depends, in any particular instance, on the thoroughness with which residents know the locality, the resources of the settlement, and the variety and efficiency of city fresh-air agencies. A number of houses endeavor to make sure that as many school children as possible, without regard to whether they are enrolled in clubs and classes, are offered the opportunity to go away either to the settlement vacation center or to places provided by fresh-air societies. When the settlement staff seeks the aid of other agencies it commonly assumes responsibility for the selection of candidates, for their preliminary physical examination, their cleanliness, and the adequacy of their wardrobe. Parents are encouraged to take the initiative in seeking vacation opportunity for their children and in meeting all necessary conditions, a procedure which, though at first expensive in time and effort, is justified in a higher standard of life. Where hospital camps are available,

¹ Among camps which deserve special mention are those maintained by College Settlement, New York; Hiram House, Cleveland; Hull House, Chicago; Hudson Guild, New York.

² Thus, Yorktown House of Henry Street Settlement has taken the lead in arranging entertainments, the proceeds of which are used to maintain the district nurse, and in community improvements of various sorts.

³ While it is undeniable that all neighborhoods should have the advantage of a thoroughgoing organization of country work, the limitation of settlement resources does not generally permit it. Certain houses confine themselves to providing for those registered in clubs and classes, and make no effort to arrange vacations for children not enrolled. Where a selection within the house membership has to be made, certain settlements take the sickly or anemic children; others make the choice dependent on conduct at clubs and classes; in most instances the exigencies of each season determine who shall go. A few houses find the neighborhood problems within the city so engrossing that they have energy to send away only the sick. Day trips, care of a playground and summer school, the problems of the child out of school, study of the local situation with a view to its betterment, absorb all available strength.

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their skilled care is solicited for convalescent, anemic, and handicapped children. Such accommodation even in the largest cities is still far below demand.

Settlements see in the result of vacation work, even on the side of finance, an opening toward a really engaging and productive type of associated action. Nearly all young people and many adults find their powers more thoroughly stimulated and tested in recreations than in other aspects of life. Here lies the opportunity to use momentum that comes of joint effort as a starting point toward only dimly glimpsed objects of desire. The contribution, at this point, of initiative and leadership on the part of educated men and women is among the most genuine reinforcements which they may bring to working-class life.

III
CULTURE AND REALITY

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATIONAL APPROACH

THE strictly educational aspects and possibilities of clubs were not at first apprehended. They were held to provide a positive and indispensable alternative to the glare of front and the gloom of back streets, and to afford a measure of undiluted joy with which slightly to tinge a drab environment. The range of educational opportunity, aside from that covered by the public schools, seemed therefore to fall into certain limited periods. These were: the half decade between entrance upon work and marriage; afternoons and evenings of school boys and girls; and the years between three and six.

In their search for an educational method sufficiently human to confront each child as an outreaching personality, flexible enough to allow emphasis on obviously needed forms of training, and adequate to establish living ties with home and neighborhood, early residents turned to the kindergarten.¹ Kindergarten exponents, on their part, were quick to appreciate the profound reinforcement which settlements offer to educators. Acquaintance with local affairs, understanding of the child's world which comes from varied participation in family concerns and from co-operation with other social workers, afford invaluable reassurance to the teacher who seeks to be a creative artist in life. Heads of several kindergarten training schools entered into affiliation with settlements; in a few instances normal classes were established in neighborhood centers. Associations of kindergartners founded settlements or financed kindergartens, and a large number of individual teachers were generous with time and service as volunteers. It is conversely a significant fact that Mrs. Quincy Shaw, pioneer in bringing about assumption of kindergartens by public authorities in Boston, once

¹ The first settlement kindergarten was opened in January, 1887, at Neighborhood Guild, and practically all settlements have maintained one or more kindergartens during at least part of their careers.

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this result was secured, began a process which converted her former kindergarten centers into settlements.

Kindergartens under public auspices have increased in such numbers since 1900 that there are many neighborhoods with adequate provision for all children. In these localities the settlement relinquishes or transfers its groups. Where public school classes are still insufficient it continues to maintain its own kindergarten. In general, while every neighborhood house studiously avoids even the appearance of competition with the public system, there are substantial reasons for continuing kindergartens until the neighborhood need is fully met.¹ Such classes represent an important means of approach to the family on the part of a group of educators, who will then continuously and in varied ways remain in friendly relation with its members. They serve as experiment stations for trying out projects such as the visiting kindergartner, summer nursery, and playground kindergartens. Aside from direct practical considerations, there is a peculiar unity between the Froebel system of thought and that which has taken form in settlements as the result of their way of laying hold on life.

In much the same spirit settlements were among the first to turn with hopeful interest to Maria Montessori's experiments in arousing the little child's inner interest and training him in self-directed activity. Residents desired to secure the benefit of such instruction for children of their neighborhoods; and as far as possible to make use of the assured results of the new method in their educational enterprises for older children and young people. Montessori associations in several large cities have established houses of childhood in connection with settlements.

Even before settlements had resources with which to install so ambitious an educational project as a kindergarten, households commonly pooled their books, solicited additions from friends, and raised money to buy volumes which seemed especially desirable. Founders believed that masterpieces of literature should be made a common possession; that good books should be an integral part both of the accustomed environment and intercourse they were setting out to create. It was with the loan of a book that early resi-

¹ In a few instances settlements house a public school kindergarten under their own roof.

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dents cemented some of their first acquaintanceships with children and adolescents. The majority of houses shortly came into possession of a small but carefully selected lending library, the resources of which, known and loved, were talked over and passed on with full conviction.

As the collection increased, a number of forms of library extension were devised. Local schools, churches, and clubs were sought out, and volumes of special interest placed at their disposal. Books for supplementary reading recommended by teachers of neighborhood public schools were secured, and exhibits illustrative of class work in literature, history, geography, and science placed on view. Sub-stations of the settlement library were opened on playgrounds and in summer camps. Home and block libraries, each of which included a reading club based on the plan outlined by Charles W. Birtwell, of the Children's Aid Society of Boston, were formed.¹

Branches of the public library, which have increased greatly in number since 1905, have made it possible for some settlements in large cities altogether to discontinue systematic lending of books. Many houses, however, still maintain their collection for the purpose of luring into the habit of reading those children and adults who have not yet learned to seek the public library. Two devices are common and successful. One works on the instinct of possession. Classes in technical and artistic subjects are induced to raise money with which to purchase works of reference. Women's clubs frequently vote sums with which to buy books on topics connected with household management and the care of children.

The other appeal is by means of group suggestion. Boys and girls who have recoiled from school readers are reconciled to the library through story hours, exhibits, and entertainments. By a variety of means, such as open shelves, display of attractive illustrations, decking good books in engaging wrappers, posting the names of children who have read certain volumes, boys and girls are introduced to a few of the varied resources of literature. Some settlement librarians make a practice of visiting the homes of their young clients; this connection is further followed up by club leaders.

¹ The first home library was established in January, 1887. The emphasis of the plan on locality, the natural group based on house and block fellowship and spirited adult leadership, was fundamentally sound and anticipated settlement experience.

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In due time the child is referred to the local branch of the public library, some member of the settlement signing the required guarantee.

Story-telling is the great resource for encouragement of good reading on the part of children. In the beginning almost a specialty of settlements, this modern minstrelsy was ere long taken up by progressive public library administrators as an effective means of increasing circulation in their children's departments. It continues to be pursued systematically at many settlements as perhaps the most important cultural influence, both direct and indirect, which can be brought to bear upon preadolescent children.

The motive of bringing the university to the tenements was strong at all houses established before 1895. Classes were offered in grammar, mathematics, rhetoric, the languages, literature, history, government, political economy, sociology, constitutional law, drawing, painting, modeling, history of art, biology, chemistry, and many other subjects. Hull House and Denison House anticipated the work of university extension in their cities, and attracted specially alert and earnest young people from different working-class neighborhoods.

The spirit and technique developed in these classes had a profound influence on the educational work of settlements. The necessity of presenting the course so as to hold the attention of young people employed during the day, led to innovations both in class organization and subject matter. Instructors endeavored to put truth in forms to win adepts to the good and beautiful; to make acquisition of knowledge a zestful pursuit. The demand of pupils that topics under consideration be linked with their personal experience, their historical and institutional loyalties, was respected. The preference friend feels for the presence of friend even in the class room was deferred to. It gradually became evident that the heightened intellectual and moral sensitiveness which characterizes the club is capable of being turned to uses of formal education. Each member of a natural group is stirred by the spiritual force kindled in others; each more easily shakes himself free of lower physical centers of laziness and indulgence; each is stimulated to manifest whatever he possesses of essential originality and to carry this power to some definite significant expression.

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These classes in the higher education represented a personal adventure on the part of their leaders. Partly because the instructor unconsciously attracted those minds which aspired to his own plane of vision in the republic of letters, and partly because the matter and method of instruction were so largely fruit and essence of personal character, each had something of that quality of intellectual ardor and fellowship which pervades college interests at their best. Such groups held together through the glamor of fresh intellectual pursuits, and drawing freely upon the services of a considerable body of educated men and women, were so real as experiments in eliciting a sense for culture, were so undeniably symbolic of the national attitude toward educational privilege, that some of the more optimistic and successful teachers dreamed of laying out a highway over which working people, despite all handicaps, would gladly enter into the privilege and power of the intellectual life. They had faith that the settlement would soon justify itself as an agency for "connecting the centers of culture and the centers of industry."

Much to the disappointment of residents and their associates, it soon appeared that the hungry-minded young people who formed the first classes were the cream not merely of neighborhood and district, but of the metropolitan industrial community. The success of settlement classes was an argument, not so much for their continuance at a neighborhood house as for the establishment of centrally organized university extension courses and public evening high schools.¹ In a few cases a particularly inspiring teacher, reaching out broadly through a large district, has been able to hold together groups of kindred spirits year after year for the serious study of art and literature. Miss Starr, at Hull House, long continued to thus embody the best teachings of the English founders, and Thomas Davidson for years was inspiring instructor and leader of a considerable group of rare young spirits among Jewish immigrants on the lower East Side of New York.

Gleaning here and there, settlements continue to discover the eager student of books, bring him into the atmosphere of thought

¹ Courageous efforts, dating from this period, to promote university extension on the basis of city-wide appeals among working people, ended in a few years in failure.

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and inquiry, encourage and assist him in following out some considerable course of higher instruction. The total of such persons who have thus passed through high schools, colleges, art and professional schools is large and grows ever larger. Those for whom such a venture is too taxing are urged to take advantage of short courses offered by high schools, technical institutes, and correspondence schools. In certain districts largely given over to recent immigrants, the settlement usually follows up its elementary instruction in English and civics with advanced courses for students of strongly intellectual tendencies not yet ready to take their place at the centers of popular education.

Although systematic instruction in higher studies soon came to an end, a considerable body of people were discovered who appreciated friendly association with educated men and women and who were eager to be in the atmosphere of taste and fine achievement. A few residents dreamed of something approaching a salon. Thus began a succession which has never ceased of well-informed, humanly minded persons glad to meet groups of working people and to play or sing, or to talk of some interesting results of study, travel, or experience.

As members of clubs and classes matured in experience, multiplied in number, and grasped the principles and technique of organization, residents saw that nothing so promotes assimilation of knowledge as participation in organizing educational enterprises. Responsibility for selecting subjects, writing to speakers, and providing an audience was increasingly transferred to officers of clubs and classes. Many adult groups carry on from one to four program meetings monthly, most of which are addressed by outside speakers. Agencies of education, health, commerce, and recreation are drawn upon to explain their purpose. Committee meetings bring small bodies together to counsel with experts. Addresses to larger gatherings of young people and children are frequent. The calendars of some settlements show meetings of this general quality in excess of five hundred a year. Such schedules represent a degree of intellectual activity on the part of citizens of working-class neighborhoods far greater than that in many more favored localities.

So far as consecutive application to accepted cultural studies is concerned, full disclosure of the facts shows comprehensive lack not

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only of background but of latent instinct. Among people whose powers are fundamentally manual and whose prospects lie chiefly in the direction of those powers, educational service must necessarily be turned into channels of industrial training. The whole realization of the life about them, as settlements continue to confront it, shows that education for fulfilment in productive work and in recreation must be provided almost wholly in ways other than in those of the approved curriculum of school or college.

The situation brought perhaps the most bitter disappointment which the settlement fellowship has had to experience. Seemingly they had begun to reach the high meanings of life with considerable groups and had ventured to expect that these were but forerunners of larger numbers. Some start had been made upon the responsible study, with working people, of the great aggressive issues of work and wages. Even in the fields of ethical instruction and inspiration, where necessity for an unsectarian attitude set severe restrictions, hopes had been raised in connection with courses in literature and biography. The disappearance of this higher range of opportunity caused a distinct falling off of interest on the part of colleges in the settlements. A number of residents and associate workers who would have been delighted to give service and money to a settlement university extension center lost their sense of attachment. Those who remained were compelled to draw deeply upon resources of creative power which a liberal education had opened to them.

The effort to vindicate the spirit of the university even more thoroughly than by reproducing, however vitally, its form of instruction, led, on the one hand, to the promotion of training in association as a means of building character in preparation for the demands of democracy, and, on the other, to the more thoroughgoing development of instruction in handwork, drawing, and music. A most important outcome of the process of readjustment was the realization that within the manifold dramatic process of the neighborhood itself were hardly dreamed of potencies; that the type of education offered by the settlement must be determined by the neighborhood's common needs.

This is the educational policy which for the last two decades has been everywhere, more or less consciously, characteristic.

CHAPTER XIII

TRAINING IN HANDWORK

THE working age fixed by the compulsory education law in tenement neighborhoods comes to be regarded as the meridian line, authorized by fate, between youth and maturity. Children look forward to it as the far-off event which will justify abandonment of lessons for the romantic possibilities of a job. Hard-pressed parents welcome it as the birthday of a fellow wage-earner and a new contributor to the family income.

So universal was the desire of fourteen-year-old children to begin work, and of parents to have them employed, that pioneer residents, almost before they were aware of what was happening, found themselves deeply involved in the hopes and trials of job getting. Trustees, board members, contributors, and volunteers were importuned in favor of protégés. Every settlement soon treasured a list of employers who were relied upon to take recommended boys and girls. Young people thus launched began their industrial careers a level or two higher than they might otherwise have achieved, and the settlement household rejoiced at the superior wage scale, more inspiring work, and ultimately better home conditions made possible. Such efforts embodied, however unsatisfactorily, some amends to youth so largely deprived of longer preparation. Yet the question kept rising whether individual strokes in the way of securing positions did not represent a subtle form of favoritism, and whether in the larger view of the problem any real gain was made.

The aimless wandering from one unskilled and low-grade occupation to another of many boys whom they sought to help, brought members of the settlements into mental and spiritual revolt. It seemed clear beyond possibility of doubt that the difficulty which many tenement children experience in occupations that require co-ordination of mind and body and capacity for sustained mental

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effort, was due to the failure of public education to provide even that elementary training of faculties needed to meet the challenge of conditions in store or factory. Inquiry showed that as soon as a false sense of freedom following escape from school and the glamor of earning wages had passed, many boys felt a profound dissatisfaction with their preparation and a deep-seated desire for additional training. Classes in sloyd, carpentry, printing, garment cutting, cobbling, chair caning, plumbing, and bricklaying were organized, with the expectation that they would assist employed youths to make progress in their trades.

Actual trade training, because of multitudinous unanticipated difficulties which arose, never became a representative settlement pursuit. Children could not be prepared for a calling within their leisure time. Trade unions were more than suspicious of what the venture might signify; and efficient teachers were almost nonexistent. Cost of equipment and running expenses where actual apprentice instruction was given proved to be too serious a drain on the settlement's limited resources. Most important of all, the community unit of trade training was seen to be district and city rather than neighborhood.

Particular experiments in trade training have grown naturally out of settlement work. In several houses printing classes have developed into shops which print programs, periodicals, and annual reports for their own and sometimes for other agencies. Boys are paid for service rendered, and by this means induced to work year after year until they learn the trade. Hudson Guild, New York, has a full-fledged school of printing which receives pupils from all over the city, as do other trade schools.

An important function of trade as of professional training is to orient the recruit, with respect to history and organization, in the industry of which he is a part. Human culture consists largely of accomplishment in such primary crafts as spinning and weaving; working clay, wood, and metal; and applying decoration. With characteristic ingenuity Miss Addams set out to show, through actual exemplification of industrial processes by means of tools and contrivances from the most primitive to the most advanced, supplemented by charts and lectures, relation between the origins and present development of the more important industries. Hull

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House Labor Museum thus helps young workers to see their tasks as part of a long, human, historic process. It presents a stimulating suggestion of what must be part of the educational resources of every city. The settlement attack upon problems of trade training, however, meant much more than these small outward results suggest. Its efforts were of substantial service amid a strangely undeveloped situation in placing the issue decisively before the public; through these efforts a group of settlement leaders assisted in the movement to establish public vocational schools.

While the rapid growth of mechanics' institutes and evening trade classes for employed boys and young men in the large cities during the nineteen hundreds released neighborhood houses from the direct necessity of carrying on such training, handwork continues to be taught both because it affords a kind of discipline which prepares the mind for wage-earning and because it reveals to children and their elders vocational instincts. Parents who are also educators know better than any other group the degree in which skill, taste, and tendency awaken only after contact with material or tools. Whole reaches of working-class talent and capacity go to waste for lack of this sort of stimulus.

Most useful of all, however, is the opportunity such contacts gave for drawing out those innate, spontaneous interests which carry children over difficulties insuperable within a formal educational scheme. In its own right, even simple handicraft demands accuracy, neatness, order, perseverance, initiative, and through the attainment of these habits, strengthens the will; while appreciation of property created by one's own labor brings about a new attitude toward thoughtless destruction.

The matter and manner of settlement craftwork is therefore adapted to attract children and hold their interests sufficiently long for the discipline of tools and material to do its thorough work. Teachers are tolerant of crudities and mistakes provided they are accompanied by personal initiative. Objects of the size and design desired by the child and his family are chosen rather than small and finely finished models embodying a series of pedagogic points. The boy is permitted to discover himself through his work even at the cost of time, material, effort, and disappointment.

Last, but by no means least in importance, the home always mani-

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festes an inquiring attitude toward crafts instruction, and the pupil's interest is reinforced and sustained by what is to him usually a conclusive judgment. Fathers and mothers feel competent to criticize and to give advice. Treasures of old world knowledge are brought forth. A long-range view of the child's industrial prospects and career is taken by older members of his family.

Although manual training had been included in the grammar school curriculum of a few cities shortly before 1890, classes established by neighborhood houses helped decidedly to further the efforts of those who, during two decades before 1910, were promoting the cause of industrial education. Residents in several cities had much influence in arousing public opinion which brought about the introduction of sloyd, cooking, and other handwork in grade schools, and settlement classes still furnish a constant stimulus to formal education in many communities.

As soon as they were able to presuppose a scheme of manual pursuits in public schools, settlements were free to reach back a stage further into the preparation of children for life. One cause for the poor showing made by many boys and girls both in class and in shop is paucity of provision for really educative play. As running, jumping, and climbing lead to increasingly accurate accommodation between mind and the larger motor muscles, and club relations co-ordinate thought and deportment, craftwork makes adjustment between the constructive faculties and the hands. No amount of formal instruction can take the place of the free movement of a child's mind as he endeavors to find himself.

Afternoon classes came into being to provide tenement children with opportunities for growth which boys in better conditioned homes obtain through cutting, pasting, and hammering, making camping outfits and houses for pets, staging plays, writing for and printing upon toy presses, and all childhood's multitudinous imitation of and participation in grown-up activities. Technical proficiency is, of course, hardly to be expected in such activities. Their real function is to make possible acquaintance with the world, to free the spirit, to offer companionship with others like-minded in the great emprise. All this was, in a sense, but the introduction into later childhood of kindergarten principles and methods. Yet it was, as a matter of fact, the more purposeful

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working out of what had been to a large extent the nucleus of settlement club interests.

Handwork for girls passed through an evolution identical to that for boys. Instruction in sewing, cooking, dressmaking, and personal hygiene was made part of the program of early girls' clubs. These activities sprung partly out of exchange of information about food and dress natural between women, partly out of a definite teaching program. Classes in sewing, similar to those which are an immemorial part of church and mission work, were among the first settlement ventures.

Command of the needle is so fundamental both in industry and home-making, its uses so varied and interesting, and its appeal to parents so immediate, that despite certain disadvantages it continues to be one of the most familiar types of class work at settlements. There is, nevertheless, a strong undercurrent of feeling against universal instruction in sewing for girls. Many residents hold that it is an over-individualistic pursuit, and are convinced that school children are better engaged in vigorous forms of play and association with others. The extreme difficulty of seating a large class so as to insure against eye-strain carries its own warning. Because of inability to provide thoroughly professional teaching, volunteer instruction is general and expert supervision infrequent. There is also nearly always a conflict between the teacher's desire to do good work and the demand of children and parents for something quickly finished. The relatively small number of girls temperamentally interested in fine sewing are encouraged through expert teaching.

Cooking classes for little girls, older girls, and mothers, which met around the residents' cook-stove were early established at practically all settlements.¹ Volunteer teachers were shortly supplemented by graduates of cooking schools, and individual gas equipment replaced the kitchen range. Class-room teaching was followed by home visits in order to find out whether instruction was being applied. Gradually the instructor learned to shape her teaching so as to meet the problems of utensils, income, and dietary which existed in homes of the neighborhood.

Establishment of Hartley House in 1897 "to create a small

¹ See Appendix, p. 414, Note VI.—Cooking Classes, Kitchen Gardens, and other Household Matters.

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home-making school where girls can be taught how to keep a home neat, tidy, and attractive" marked formal organization of neighborhood domestic training. In addition to a class-room kitchen equipped with coal-stove rather than individual gas burners, and with the ordinary utensils of a tenement home, a demonstration bedroom was added. Home-keeping classes were formed and an effort made to teach all the processes connected with care of a household. Henceforth an increasing number of settlements provided a bedroom near the cooking-class room.

The baffling slowness with which girls responded to formal instruction in domestic science led to the conviction that some other method must be found which would elicit their personal and consecutive interest. Response came through actualizing the enveloping sentiment and spirit which obtains in fine home life. The girl's sense for total atmosphere, her craving for the semblance of out-reaching dreams, when properly drawn upon, evoke a considerable momentum of mental application and lighten seeming drudgery. The final step toward verisimilitude was taken in 1901 by Mabel H. Kittredge, then resident at Henry Street Settlement. A four-room apartment in a tenement house was rented and furnished by classes in housekeeping at the end of a series of talks on furnishing. In this background the suggestion of stage properties which had characterized early kitchens and bedrooms disappeared. Cooking, preservation of food, care of beds, ventilation, cleaning, and all the round of household duties were now taught under actual conditions of life. The success of the experiment was immediate, and within a few years settlements began to transfer their home-making classes into tenements.

A model flat emphasizes the subtle and elusive but decisive sanctions through which housework becomes a creative art. Along with knowledge about preparation of food, settlement instructors impart the customs, traditions, and symbolism that underlie fine home and family life. Rites of the table, responsibilities to guests, time-honored celebrations of great festivals, customs and manners governing relations of person with person within the narrow limits of home, are important incentives and means for keeping life healthy and aspiring.

The sociabilities growing out of class work in cooking and home-

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making are almost equally important with instruction. Food which has been prepared is consumed by the class, and the common meal exercises its magic power of welding participants and opening new avenues of acquaintance and effort. Pupils are encouraged to invite guests, and exercise of personal and group hospitality again calls forth a whole round of vital human responses. Portions of food are frequently sent to sick or shut-in associates and neighbors. Points of contact and sympathy between daughters and mothers are established and interpreted by instructors, and an effort is made to induce them to work out together clues gained in class. The model flat under charge of a resident director carries this motive one step further. As she becomes acquainted with neighbors, the instructor catches up again some of the simple homely relationships based on the actual sharing of common problems which, as institutional equipment of the settlement enlarges, inevitably tend to be diluted.¹

The confused and subtle issues that affect wage-earning girls have always been a subject of special concern. Since a period of service in factory or store falls to nearly all working-class young women, reason demands that they be prepared to make the most effective and profitable use of their time and effort during this stage. But what the settlements have been able themselves to furnish in this direction has been slight. A few houses train girls definitely for domestic service. Instruction in the care of small children is given at several nurseries, and settlements which carry on lunch rooms teach a few girls approved ways of table service. Schools of dressmaking and fine sewing are maintained at a small number of houses.²

Serious trade training for girls, as for boys, requires wider areas than neighborhoods to draw upon, and larger resources than private and local agencies can provide. More important still, painful experience with tenement homes and tenement mothers has burned

¹ An interesting variation on close-range work was carried on for some years in New York by Annie Strathern, who died in 1920. Each week Miss Strathern had a few children live with her and carry on the household work in common. In addition to the resident group, children who had been through the course gathered for parties and simple entertainments. The lesson of this experiment has already begun to spread.

² Cambridge Neighborhood House; Chase Neighborhood House, Chicago.

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into the minds of residents the fact that no one more than a woman who rears children and makes homes in which they grow up needs training for her life work. Accordingly, though the settlements rely almost entirely upon public action for the training of girls for industry, they continue to devote much effort to instruction in the care of the home, through co-operating with and supplementing the services of the public schools in this direction.¹

As the community accepts the principle that boys and girls should be prepared in public school for practical callings, settlements place increasing emphasis on the finer artistic and ethical possibilities of handwork. Just as pioneer residents sought to escape that overemphasis on the cultural aspects of manual training which was a sop to the high-and-dry educational sentiment of thirty years ago, so present-day leaders are endeavoring to guard against the rigidity of too early specialization. Instruction in handwork is increasingly used as a dragnet through which to discover latent interest and ability and then gradually to reveal the results both to possessor and to parents. The energy that has gone into such work, however, can be equally well applied in new forms of cultural handwork which during the past ten years at a number of houses have been turning out commendable finished products. This is but one direction in which a combination of recreation and education, appearing now in club, now in class, is beginning to express itself in forms of accomplished distinction. It is almost a confirmation of settlement faith to say that they have not as yet brought genius to light. Their purpose is to rear loyal groups of mutually helpful producers of honest and beautiful effects in communities which shall learn to cherish fine workmanship in a pervasive sentiment of appreciation and praise.

¹ For the part taken by settlements in promoting public vocational education, see p. 212ff.

CHAPTER XIV

THE THREE ARTS

EARLY experiments in promoting love of beauty in the field of line and form were due to two causes. One was the influence of Canon Barnett. Nearly all pioneers who visited Toynbee Hall carried away dreams of duplicating in American terms the Whitechapel Art Exhibit. The second was the influence of the founders of Hull House. Miss Addams' interest in early Christian art was reinforced by Miss Starr's preparation for a career as lecturer in the history of painting. It was natural, therefore, that initial overtures to some of their neighbors should have been made by showing photographs brought from abroad.

Two main ways of creating interest in painting and sculpture at once outlined themselves. One was the multiplication of opportunities to see beautiful things; the other, instruction in drawing and modeling. Residents at Hull House furnished their rooms as beautifully as their means permitted. The first specially erected building contained a gallery which was formally opened in June, 1891, with an exhibit of paintings lent by Chicago art lovers. Neighborhood Guild, New York, in 1892 inaugurated a series of important exhibits which attracted thousands of East Siders and resulted in much public interest. South End House, Boston, followed with a similar series begun in March, 1893. Other houses, as they were established through the decade, pursued this lead.

The end of such exhibits came shortly and for several reasons. Risk to works of art, money cost of transportation and guardianship, and nervous strain upon organizers were the most compelling. Almost as important was the fact that many residents and board members were affected by the typical American distrust of art. Pioneer picture exhibitions had been born out of due time.

Settlement loan exhibits proved that working men and women would go and look at pictures in their leisure time. But the unfortu-

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nate practice of locating art galleries in open parks at some distance from the heart of the city, and of closing them evenings, Sundays, and holidays, placed their collections beyond the reach of tenement dwellers. Charles B. Stover aroused and kept alive the agitation which led trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art to open it on Sunday afternoons, and residents of Hull House had a measure of influence in securing similar action by the Chicago Art Institute.

Sunday opening having been brought to pass, settlement workers set out first to make neighbors acquainted with the museum and then to establish the habit of visiting it. Groups of children and adults were regularly collected and guided through the galleries. These experiments in docentage made it increasingly evident that the undue emphasis placed on archæology, exaltation of the so-called major arts of painting and sculpture, disregard of contemporaneous work, neglect of the crafts which touch the common man as producer and consumer, custom of cataloguing and describing exclusively for scholars, left museums far from satisfactory instruments for the education of the people.

Since 1910 more attention has been given in museums to needs of the average citizen. In Boston the Museum of Fine Arts, each summer since 1911, has invited groups of children selected and chaperoned by residents of settlements and directors of play centers to meet in its lecture hall for a story hour, after which the objects referred to in the narratives are visited. Saturday classes for children are increasing rapidly. A growing number of museums provide docents for working-class groups; while some employ a staff member whose duty it is to encourage wage-earners and immigrants to make use of the facilities and opportunities offered.¹

Among early residents a few hoped that it might be possible both to arouse and train the sense for beauty and to brighten homes through the loan of framed photographs and prints. These latter were first offered to members of adult clubs and the plan had a measure of success. It was shortly abandoned, partly because the response was not so great as its sponsors hoped it would be, partly

¹ Many settlements make a practice of posting museum announcements, and of speaking to individuals and groups about the beautiful things on view. Occasional prizes have been offered as a reward for the most intelligently written account of what a child has seen at a gallery. One settlement has prepared a handbook which gives a list of museum exhibits and opportunities for art education.

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because the labor of handling and keeping track of pictures was so considerable, and money to pay for repairing frames and purchasing new subjects difficult to secure. These disadvantages are not so serious with children, and at a few settlements, for little boys and girls picture lending remains a popular enterprise.¹ Like certain other unproved settlement experiments, this, too, awaits persons of resource and enthusiasm to demonstrate its far-reaching possibilities.

Neighbors, once they became aware that residents were interested in beautiful things, began to bring forth treasures of possession and examples of their own skill of hand. Ability of no mean order, in certain immigrant colonies, thus came to light. Exhibits were organized to show the work of local men and women in drawing, painting, modeling, wood-carving, weaving, embroidery, lace-making, metalwork, and jewelry.

These loan collections helped a few craftsmen to dispose of work already on hand and opened up new sources of employment. In several instances they led to establishment of workrooms for the production of laces, embroideries, and other forms of fine needlework. Hardly less important, they offered immigrant craftsmen opportunity to display their work under conditions of honor. No one who knows the grilling which later immigrants so often endure from earlier comers will underestimate the irritation and bitterness engendered and the solace of a publicly recognized achievement. The display of fine things in neighborhoods where several nationalities jostle one another, became an important means of promoting genuine understanding between them. Imperilled self-confidence and respect blossomed anew. Even parents were revealed to their children in a more worthy light.

Inherited or acquired treasures of craftsmanship, among working

¹ Photographs, woodcuts, and engravings to be distributed are about eight by twelve inches and are framed in glass. They are hung on a very low dado within easy sight of the children. It is also customary to tell stories suggested by the pictures.

The large percentage of failure in the case of lending pictures lies in the fact that examples are often badly printed and poorly selected. Pictures should be of fair size, cleanly, clearly printed, and possessed of human interest. The growth of color printing makes it possible to secure attractive pictures and should lead to a new attempt to lend them. One or two houses have had some success in promoting the sale of pictures. Where the bi-weekly exchange of pictures becomes part of the ritual of family life, as it does in a surprising number of instances, delightful relations spring up between children, residents, and parents.

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people not less than among well-to-do, are a source of family pride. Neighborhood exhibits of furniture, silver, jewelry, porcelains, bric-a-brac, and needlework have been organized in Boston, and on one occasion articles selected from a number of local exhibitions were placed on view in the Museum of Fine Arts. Such events made clear both to residents and neighbors the spiritual refreshment immigrant families draw from their national art.

Appreciation, as we have seen, was the obverse of the equally important motive of creation. Classes in drawing, painting, and modeling were offered by several of the earliest settlements. Among those who took advantage of them were a few young people of real talent; some who, without talent, found through line and form an escape into idealism; and others who desired to better their work as engravers, lithographers, fine printers, and decorators. The first results seemed to suggest that working people were not interested in the arts of design.

Unconvinced though baffled, settlement residents set out to find a more direct means of training hand and eye. Classes in weaving, basketry, metalwork, pottery, wood-carving, and lace-making were established. In this country the beginnings of instruction in artistic handwork for tenement dwellers were made in settlements. The response, though it differed from neighborhood to neighborhood, depending on local powers and the skill of teachers, was immediate. Interest in form and color was carried forward by the instinct to do things with the hands and to create objects of use and adornment. Several houses, situated among immigrants acquainted with the stitches and designs of their country, have been able to produce fine needlework.¹ Other houses have developed the teaching of one or more specialties to a point where products have sufficient distinction to be salable.²

¹ Denison House, Boston; Hull House, Chicago; Richmond Hill House, New York; South End House, Boston.

² Neighborhood House, Washington, basketry; North Bennett Industrial School, and Paul Revere Pottery, Boston, pottery; Archer Road Settlement, Chicago, rug weaving.

Marketing of settlement crafts products is not easy. Fairs, bazaars, and sales patronized chiefly by supporters and friends of the settlement are common. A few houses maintain a store in the center of the city. Others send their products to gift shops and exchanges. At times a number of settlements or a local federation have united to maintain a store in the shopping district.

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1. The purpose of this document is to provide information regarding the activities of the [redacted] in the [redacted] area. This information is being provided for your information and is not to be used for any other purpose.

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form, to afford disciplined outlet for the production of fine things, to discover and train talent, to reinforce the home by helping working young people to increase their earning capacity. Children between six and eleven are taught appreciation through observation of art and nature, through drawing, and through games which involve observation. Adolescent boys and girls receive instruction in drawing and painting the figure and landscape, costuming, illustration, commercial lettering, modeling, and interpretative dancing. Pupils and neighbors, who often visit the gallery for a little while at the end of the day, have free access to an important art collection which includes pictures, sculpture, porcelains, hard stones, ivories, glass, and fabrics. There are periodic exhibits of pupils' drawings and paintings.

One such center calls imperatively for a chain.¹ The conviction that every neighborhood should have one room set apart to show beautiful things, brought in Boston the establishment in May, 1918, of the Children's Art Center, which its founder, Fitzroy Carrington, curator of prints at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, hopes is the beginning of a series of neighborhood art museums. Paintings, drawings, engravings, lithographs, illustrations, sculpture, pottery, and glass, each chosen with an eye to its attractiveness for children, are displayed in a manner to make it easy to see and to study. Books illustrated by able draughtsmen are on hand to be looked at, and story-telling, occasional concerts, and the privileges of a garden help cement friendly relations between visitors and attendants. In addition to its purely local functions the ministry of the center reaches out into the city at large. Groups of children come from other neighborhoods to visit it, and examples from its collection of prints and illustrations are lent to the different settlements.

Meanwhile, settlements elsewhere were helping to foster the idea.

¹ Mr. Fleisher, on the opening of a new building in 1914, stated: "Hard-working people . . . should not be asked to go out of their way to see beautiful things. They are not apt to be willing to go. . . . Beautiful things should be brought to them and placed without parade or preachment, where they can have easiest access to them. . . . Our collection of works of art can reach only a limited number of people so long as it is housed in one building. There should be buildings like this in all crowded parts of the town, so that our collection could travel about from section to section and from street to street, and so that other collections could come in turn and be shown in our building."

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The organization in New York of the People's Art Guild during the fall of 1915 by a group of younger painters and sculptors "to bring about a direct approach of artists and the people, so that in the midst of a beautifully active people, a hospitable home for great artists may arise," has been of material help toward furthering this process. The Guild has offered exhibitions of pictures by its members and established classes in drawing, modeling, history of art, and craftwork at several houses. In every neighborhood there is a group of children who can be interested in drawing and in modeling; and among certain races, such as the Italians, the degree of talent may be considerable. Development of this interest, once fully undertaken, may be expected to produce results equal to those already secured in the field of music and drama.

Passing to the domain of tone and rhythm, one leaves an appeal which among working people is still limited for another all but universal. Associated with the deepest and most primary human feelings and with ancient loyalties of religion and nationality, an expected part of many important ceremonies, an ever-present outlet for the sentiment of childhood and youth, music is not so much an art to be cultivated as part of the atmosphere of life.

As with the arts of form, settlements began their educational work in music with large and striking presentments, furnished forth by trained and accomplished persons brought in from without. Musicians of established standing, asked to play before working-class audiences, responded with readiness and in a rare spirit of respect for those who were to listen. Choral and other musical societies repeated important programs in settlement halls. Lecture recitals were provided for the studiously inclined. A number of settlements, particularly Hull House, University Settlement in New York, and South End House, continued to provide series of Sunday musicales until multiplication of excellent popular concerts, which are so encouraging a phase of recent progress, made them unnecessary.¹

¹ It has been found that people enjoy performers whom they know and programs which appeal to their loyalties. Some settlements lend their halls for municipal concerts; some provide band music in their playgrounds or in front of their buildings. While this latter furnishes a pleasant and successful method of bringing people together, the expense is so considerable that the custom is not general. Settlements conscientiously endeavor to give the best possible music at entertain-

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It takes a long time, however, to bring about an entirely new feeling toward music merely through hearing the best. In music, as in other arts, individual and communal taste is advanced most surely by raising the standard of production among a nucleus of local performers. Settlements make a considerable number of opportunities for neighborhood talent to express itself before its own public. Both performers and audience are gradually led to delight in music of a better quality than they would themselves have sought. This nucleus grows with varying rapidity in different neighborhoods, but steadily and surely.

Children's choruses were among the earliest settlement enterprises in metropolitan cities. Under a few leaders of exceptional skill and enthusiasm, reinforced by the personal work of residents in winning support of parents, impressive results were secured. In Chicago several settlements united in giving concerts. In Boston and New York such effort was rather among young men and women. After a time these enterprises were abandoned in favor of city-wide organizations such as the People's Singing Society of New York and the Boston Choral Union. Settlements thereupon became local agencies of these more comprehensive efforts, which they systematically advertise and forward.

Consecutive interest in choral work, once the flurry of the nineties subsided, was confined to German, Scandinavian, and Slavic neighborhoods. Much sporadic instruction, however, goes on. Preparation for operettas, vaudeville, club entertainments, involves a very considerable amount of drill, and is the means through which most young people not interested in the art of singing prefer to take their instruction. Here, much as in other forms of settlement training, the chief necessity is for a leader capable of kindling a dormant spark, and of bringing the slow and lazy-minded forward under their own momentum.

The gradual growth of interest since 1910 in community singing is finding expression in many neighborhoods. Entrance of the United States into the war raised what was a slowly growing in-

ments and socials, and although the standard is not always high, it is educational in that it is above that of the district. Residents often take clubs to operas and concerts, previously telling the story and preparing groups to listen with understanding.

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tellectual interest into something like a real craving. Settlements by and large opened and closed all gatherings with song. Many organized community choruses which met weekly.¹ Gradually a fund of musical interest is thus being created which makes possible more beautiful forms of community self-expression.

Motives and standards which govern the attitude of neighborhood workers toward choral practise are applied to orchestras and bands which have been organized under settlement auspices or have sought settlement hospitality. Even though the grade of performance is not high, regularity of practise, a wider acquaintance with musical literature, and the effort to prepare creditable public performances are values which count decidedly to the educator. Such groups frequently render much appreciated service at entertainments and parties and constitute a source of wholesome neighborhood pride.

Desire to save and develop the talent of exceptional children, to gratify poignant cravings of emotional though untalented young people, and even to encourage those drawn more by the social glamor of music than by its emotional content, early led settlements to undertake the provision of a good grade of musical instruction. Hull House Music School was established in 1893, under the direction of Eleanor Smith. The purpose of its founder is to discover and train children with sufficient talent, industry, and character to reap the full advantage of thorough instruction. Pupils are expected to become professionals. For those not capable of this degree of proficiency, seeing that skill on any instrument requires long and arduous practise, instruction in choral singing, carried on apart from the distinctive work of the school, is thought best to meet their needs and powers.

A year after establishment of the Hull House school, beginnings of the East Side Music School were made at College Settlement by a young New York music teacher, Emilie Wagner. In contrast with Miss Smith, Miss Wagner set out to meet the needs of all children who manifested a real desire for instruction in music. The talented boy or girl, she felt, would always be helped. Not evidence of special ability but the wish to learn, was therefore her test of admission. Emphasis in teaching was accordingly placed on

¹ Returns from 98 houses showed that 54 carried on such choruses.

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desire for expression and on the right use of imagination. The necessity of keeping down cost of instruction led to the short period lesson, the pupil-teacher, and a normal course.

While the Chicago and New York music schools were developing their respective points of view, the majority of settlements made place amid many other activities for individual instruction in piano, violin, and voice. Practise hours on the settlement pianoforte were arranged. Generous music teachers gave time both at their studios and in settlements. The curriculum was enlarged to include musical kindergarten, solfeggio, theory, and history of music. Senior and junior orchestras were formed. Gradually the resources of settlements were strained. Since 1900 the example of the two pioneer schools, reinforced by growing interest among music lovers and the tendency among settlement administrators to organize all varieties of instruction in departmental form, has brought about establishment of music schools at an ever increasing number of houses. These schools often continue in direct connection with the settlement of their origin, though some set up an independent existence with a specialized resident staff. They represent the most considerable and significant independent educational organism which the settlement has brought into being.

Just as in the case of housekeeping center or crafts guild, music schools add to instruction all those important reinforcements which come from endeavor after high quality, from the presence of many like-minded, and from the creation of an institution which holds an important and worthy place in the community. It is possible to enlist continuously the willing services of competent musicians. Artists and managers contrive so that pupils may attend recitals at a cost within their means.

The rapid growth of music schools during the past few years, settlement workers believe, prefigures complete democratization of instruction in music. The tradition among educated classes which would have everyone trained to sing or play an instrument must be extended to working people. The ruling instinct in tenement neighborhoods to express oneself more through emotion than through intellect calls for inspired and continuous instruction in the type of music which feeds finer sentiments and feelings, instructs reason, and develops the fabric of character.

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But the essential distinction of a settlement music school is its service in building up family life. Satisfactory instruction in music is impossible even to the rarest and most inspiring teacher without sympathetic co-operation of the home. Such an attitude has often to be created almost out of nothing. It is, indeed, through services which sometimes seem strange and unusual to teachers of music that instruments are procured, regular practise arranged for, parental and family support brought about.

Representation of human experience and human ideals through action is, in point of time, the latest among great arts to be drawn upon by the settlement for the purpose of disciplining youth and strengthening the local sense of solidarity. Original residents soon became aware in how high a degree low-priced theaters colored the thought and life of working people. Picture exhibits, lectures, concerts, classes in handicraft, and choral clubs were in part established for the purpose of providing an alternative to the commanding and nearly always insidious appeal of melodrama and vaudeville.

While a few residents dreamed of a playhouse conducted under motives which might make it a far-reaching educational force, the majority inherited in full measure the common distrust felt for everything that smacked, however remotely, of the stage. This extreme prejudice, just on the point of beginning to yield to a more reasonable attitude, prevented any whole-hearted preoccupation with dramatic interests until the new century. The conception that neighborhood people could be trained to really creditable performances which would in turn react upon neighborhood taste and sentiment, gradually unfolded. Its appearance was delayed half a decade by the question, "If neighborhood young people are taught to act, what will the outcome be?"

Dramatics became part of the settlement program by a series of gradual steps, the earliest of which were hardly more than tolerated. Those approaches to dramatic representation sanctified by long usage in church and school, such as platform recitations, dialogues, parlor magic, cantatas, charades, festivals, were first adopted. Initial outreachings into drama crept in through reading clubs and classes, the sanction of Shakespeare being generally invoked to cover these adventures into doubtful precincts. The object in view

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was to encourage good reading rather than to secure dramatic results with subject matter so far beyond the powers of the cast. Gradually it was realized that a very widespread desire existed among children and young people to act, and that satisfaction of this desire under educational auspices and high standards leads away from instead of toward the professional stage. The literary purpose of the first plays thereupon gave place to the downright and avowed aim of making dramatics a constituent factor in the program of educational recreation.

Leadership and standards of production in dramatics halted for a long time behind what was considered essential in drawing and music. Scattered experience, however, made it clear that the training which goes with preparing a play for presentation meets important educational needs of children and young people in tenement neighborhoods. Facing prematurely life's responsibilities, boys and girls are intensely awake to the emotional significance of action and character, curious and concerned about the forms through which the chief human motives are expressed. In the very recoil from much that means overstrain and restriction, they wish to demonstrate their inherent capacity for large and heroic gesture. Their complete commitment to the drama as spectators holds with it a nascent positive impulse for which settlement dramatics is the accurately adapted outlet. Such performances were recognized as perhaps the pre-eminent settlement pursuit to which average neighborhood young people come in a state of readiness for discipline and drill, with a measure of zest for putting the finer feelings and purposes to the test, and with a sense for actual achievement through team play. Some who can achieve it in no other way reach personal distinction in acting.

While the most interesting and artistically rewarding results of such training are obtained with clubs of young men and women, observation of the play of children upon the streets showed that their instinct to act is strong. A scheme of dramatic opportunity from the kindergarten up, therefore, quite naturally outlines itself. Little children are encouraged to give appropriate expression through marches and songs to the emotions aroused by stories or through the spontaneous dramatization of tales, the end sought being the free and natural expression of a limited round of whole-

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some motives, the proper use of words and their correct pronunciation and enunciation. There is little or no study and imitation of other persons, and the setting is simpler than that craved by young people.

For adolescent boys and girls the detailed and purposeful reading, thinking, and imagining called for in memorizing a part, mastering a character, and fitting it and one's self into a coherent presentation, affords peculiarly stimulating and valuable discipline. The slight acquaintance with the technique of acting which performers acquire causes them to demand much higher types of production than before they essayed to be players themselves. Not the least important result which grows out of an accomplished performance is that which comes to the group as a unit. Rehearsals afford a succession of good times and satisfy the desire of young people to be together in a common purpose, while the united perseverance required of the cast creates a more positive group loyalty which in turn leads to still better team work.

The efforts of a club which is preparing a play are usually a matter of public interest and gossip among friends and neighbors, and this comment often starts in motion valuable currents of local acquaintance and goodwill. The necessity of securing an audience causes players to ally themselves with other clubs and community organizations, and such affiliations usually enforce a decided degree of restraint and care in conduct. A successful performance carries with it desired and wholesome personal and group distinction which is often an incentive toward a higher type of life. Occasionally a drama is prepared which gives beautiful and significant expression to local loyalties and traditions.

As with other artistic pursuits, efforts have been made to bring the local settlement clientèle into appreciative relations with the best work of producing masters. Certain managers of significant plays have been prevailed upon to present them in working-class theaters and halls. Interest which began in this way led a number of the foremost actresses and actors to set aside blocks of seats for children. These experiments, together with an increasing desire among public-spirited men and women of culture to democratize the arts, stimulated associations to rouse the interest of working people in good plays and to provide seats at a moderate charge.

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One result of the work of such societies has been the giving of special wage-earners' performances and systematic reduction in the cost of seats at regular performances to persons recommended by neighborhood organizations.

Since motion pictures have so largely displaced spoken drama, and cheap admission has brought them within the reach of everyone, there is danger lest children come to know the representation of life only in terms of pantomime. Capable observers testify to the fact that the present generation of working-class children are more physically expressive than their predecessors, one of the good results of "movie" education. On the other hand, it is nothing less than a vital human service to seek to preserve and enhance capacity for the spoken expression of ideas.

Application of the guild principle to dramatics took place in 1901 with the opening of Hull House Theater. The educational advantages which go with something approaching professional equipment are very considerable. The long preparation of a play involves human difficulties complex and discouraging enough in their own right. When upon these are superimposed new problems based on narrow space and the repeated improvising of manifold cumbersome properties, the cast is brought to recurrent low spirits. Most important and worst of all, the moral issue of the enterprise is likely to be shifted from performance to equipment. Conversely, every troupe is stimulated by the opportunity of using what it regards as a complete model of a stage. Under such conditions the remembered triumphs of earlier groups stir others to the fullest degree of emulation.

Possession of neighborhood theaters makes it possible for the settlement to realize long-cherished plans of securing some fruitage from the dramatic interest and resources of surrounding immigrant colonies. No one familiar with the influence of the stage on the struggle for freedom in Europe during the nineteenth century would underestimate the extent to which drama may direct opinion and stir loyalties. The response of different groups of immigrants, when encouraged to prepare and present their native drama, is immediate and appreciative. They feel, rightly enough, that such invitation demonstrates a more than superficial regard on the part of American citizens for the country and culture out of which they

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in particular have come. They are able to stand forth with dignity as exponents of a noble tradition after the version of countrymen whose commanding genius all must recognize. In several instances, notably among Greeks and Italians, really impressive results have been obtained. The lead of Hull House in this direction has been followed in several other cities. Plays built around Jewish traditions at Henry Street Settlement in New York have been of notable interest and influence.

The neighborhood theater is in part an expression of that high-tide of interest in the drama which is affecting people of every sort, in part an endeavor to provide adequate equipment as a means of securing new and stirring educational results, and in part an influence toward developing local pride and loyalty. Dramatic presentations of a variety and quality which a commercial manager could not afford to give can be made an established part of the recreational resources of the whole community. Hull House Theater was one of the first "little theaters" in the United States, and it has had part in demonstrating the need and possibilities of a free stage. The gradual development of a company under the direction of a resident, herself an actress, assured the troupe a quality of permanency and worthy achievement. The Hull House Players, and later the Henry Street Players, have given a long series of dramas of the more poetic and interpretative kind.¹ When the goodwill of the finer spirits in the dramatic profession begins to be thoroughly enlisted as it has in the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York under the management of Alice and Irene Lewisohn, results of national importance may be expected.

Rapid spread of settlement music schools and crafts schools and the coming of neighborhood theaters marks an important extension of popular culture for the country as a whole. The finer hopes of founders in these directions during the first decade were not realized because other needs and cravings were ever present and insistent, and relatively few residents had the required training, and, as already indicated, because men and women of means regarded all manifestations of the fine arts other than literature, as luxuries be-

¹ The tour of the Hull House Players to the seacoast, and thence to the Abbey Theater in Dublin, is surely a romantic incident in the development of our dramatic life.

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yond reach or appreciation of average men and women. It required some time for settlement workers themselves to become fully conscious that the seeds of an indigenous culture resided within working people and might germinate to remake their life. The years have shown, however, that great reaches of working-class ability run to waste because tenement-bred families are not able to give the intelligent searching scrutiny, the patient and resourceful nursing, to any least manifestation of interest or ability which educated parents and friends undertake as a matter of course.

This fact, as nothing else, demonstrates the need of resident representatives of each of the arts in every neighborhood, and the establishment of a degree of local interest in beauty that will cause its manifestations to be understood, honored, and conserved. An encouraging sign of the times to many settlement residents is the fact that public and private institutions and societies organized to protect and develop the finer interests of the community are reaching down into the inexhaustible resource of the common people for strength and justification. Those who believe that art in its various forms is a prime essential of normal existence see in this tendency promise of finer and more worthy production and a gentler private and public life.

CHAPTER XV

NEIGHBORHOOD HUMANITIES

WHEN Emerson said, "I now require this of all pictures, that they domesticate me, not that they dazzle me,"¹ he gave the settlement a motto. For the neighborhood worker is concerned not with curriculum but with actual processes of living. It is of the essence of success in club and class work that leaders kindle and keep burning a backfire of sympathetic interest in the homes of members. Even as it brings higher illumination, the settlement strives to keep child and older members of his family in an attitude of mutual understanding, to sustain those loyalties in which alone power of sound appreciation can grow. The group leader, as not merely teacher but family acquaintance, creates in the background some of that reinforcing interest in apparently sublimated pursuits which for well-conditioned children and young people goes without saying as part of the home and neighborhood atmosphere.

Acquaintance with fathers, mothers, older brothers and sisters of club members brings to light in every neighborhood a small number of men and women distinguished by delight in sensuous beauty, by delicacy of personal sentiment or serenity of moral judgment. Some of these have seen better days and cling so far as possible to former personal standards. Some of them look upon their presence in the neighborhood as a tragedy. Even those who try to make the best of it are frequently lonely and sometimes heartsick. To be sought out and brought within a circle of neighborly acquaintance with a few cultivated people gives members of this group renewed draughts of confidence and inspiration.

The club and class scheme, as the settlement grows in years and experience, is refined to meet ever more accurately gauged local desires and powers. The program for children starts with the es-

¹ Emerson, R. W.: *Essays*. Boston, James Munroe and Co., 1841. Essay on Art.

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establishment of proper physical and mental habits. Boys and girls suffering from various phobias are interpreted to themselves and shown the source of their errors. Overweening self-confidence and conceit is dealt with so as not to injure basic momentum toward accomplishment. The too diffident individual is nursed through a series of simple challenges until sense for achievement begins to be established. Bad habits of thought are disclosed and interest of the sufferer obtained in overcoming them. Emotions are disciplined by providing exercise within the great middle range between hate and love.

This kind of instruction obviously cannot be given formally. Most of it goes on as part of the actual interplay of association. The sterling sense for atmosphere causes children and young people to criticize, observe, and copy the dress, manners, accent, formulas of friendliness, and courteous helpfulness of those whom they respect. Hitherto unperceived leanings, hopes, and powers awaken through the mere assumption of forms of conduct and come to a true inner response. Residents and leaders make the comment on this or that element of conduct as situations arise in clubs, classes, and rehearsals, during visits in the home, and most important of all, at camp. Certain men and women become most expert in this sort of educational case work, and their skill is a community resource.

The resident group reviews almost month by month the fundamental needs of childhood, youth, and maturity, the extent to which they are being met through existing agencies, old-line and newly established, weak places in local organization for fulfillment of life; it endeavors to determine, after consideration and advice, the kind of unconventional educational process fitted to develop the desired qualities of hand, mind, or morals in the particular class or nationality or age-group with which it works. Leadership and help are sought for any discernible stirring of interest however slight. An ever changing variety of new enterprises are started for the purpose of discovering powers unperceived either by people or residents. Professionals or skilled amateurs take the chance of garnering from the neighborhood, or of creating by force of importunity a following of even a few children or young people interested in their specialties. Room is found for the keen-minded person capable of being foremost in a half-dozen groups, and, by

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contrast, for the dormant-minded child or adult who can barely keep his footing in one. Opportunity is afforded each individual to lead in that department of activity wherein he can stimulate his fellows, and to be led in those wherein he needs guidance. Small undertakings are multiplied and the appointment of innumerable committees fostered in order to provide play for the deep-seated desire to direct and lead, as well as to obey. A distinctive suggestion of responsible neighborhood participation is imparted to all activities, which in turn leads to dissemination of the settlement's message with authority but in the vernacular.

The gathering of the rising momentum of a variety of finer activities into an inclusive guild form has an immediate and continuous communal effect. The music school, crafts guild, home-making center, children's museum, and neighborhood theater give to the settlement's modest artistic leads a degree of breadth and dignity. A cause is created of which each individual member is in some sense responsible exponent, defender, promoter. The system of ideas which goes with each pursuit begins to be compared with that of kindred ones. Misinterpretation which the fine-minded have to endure from those of a coarser fiber is more easily borne. It even becomes possible to bring scoffers to the bar of public opinion. Hitherto aimless or lonely men and women discover that they have interests in common. Talented children and young people come to have local fame.¹ Friends and neighbors inquire into the why and wherefore of skill and excellence, and in turn become partisans and advocates. As the circle of those who know about such resources grows, the community itself becomes more watchful for the appearance of ability, increasingly able to direct it, insistent that it shall not be lost. In due time every pursuit on the settlement schedule begins to have its established devotees. The more elementary, as well as more selective interests, regularly carry their distinctions

¹ The cultural interests of the well-to-do are kept vital only at a great expenditure of time and resource. Thus the man or woman with a leaning toward art finds his interest constantly renewed and stimulated by important periodicals in half a dozen languages, by a constant succession of monographs, by the permanent and loan collections in museums, exhibitions arranged by clubs and societies, a constantly changing series of exhibitions at the various dealers, auction catalogues, lectures of visiting specialists, membership in societies, comparison of notes with friends, and by the personal gossip about artists and craftsmen. In working-class localities many of these sources of stimulation are beyond the knowledge and reach of the people.

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and gather their loyalties. Passage across lines of age, sex, class, and income, on the higher avenues of intercommunication, becomes more customary. Selected groups are brought into a quite new kind of relation with individuals and institutions holding the general scene of the city as a whole. Accomplished leadership from without, and the occasional presence of high authority, serve to give the local scheme a recognized place in the city's higher life, while introducing wage-earners to cultural agencies upon which future progress must so largely depend.

Parallel with its work of creating organs for the expression of cultural instincts, residents set out to arouse and cultivate the interest of local citizens in neighborhood traditions and life. The settlement periodical affords dignified proof of the range of local organized activities. Confined at first to indoor happenings connected with house programs, the little paper begins to reach out into the neighborhood for its news and readers. Young people interested in writing are spurred to produce copy worthy to be printed; presswork is often performed by the printing class.

Observances of holidays, anniversaries, reunions of old and new neighbors, balls which serve as ranking occasions of their kind, celebrations of Christmas and New Year's, patriotic demonstrations, pageants, fairs, and banquets are important means of giving expression to neighborhood and district motives and desires. There is a widely growing tendency to direct chorus singing, sewing, dancing, and other forms of group work which go on within the settlement so that they may culminate in spring and summer festivals out of doors.

Inter-club relations open up a further stage in the development of collective instincts. The training which natural groups composing the settlement system of organization secure through their meetings and activities fits them for intensive rather than for extensive action. The club easily becomes self-centered or even selfish. The congress of clubs, with its council composed of elected representatives from each association, affords training in the technique of representative action.¹

¹ The first councils were composed of clubs of older young people, and the group dealt largely with problems of order. The athletic council enlarged the motive by raising money, organizing meets, and treating with other societies and institutions. Once the method of federation had demonstrated its power to increase the satisfac-

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- The club council settles questions such as size of clubs, use of rooms, amount of rent and terms of payment, procedure under which a member of one group may resign and join another, discipline of clubs, and disputes between a member and his group or a club member and the settlement. Many councils exercise general supervision over associations whose members are not old enough to be represented. Some legislate on the required intellectual work of clubs, and it is always valuable to have members go through the effort to raise educational standards even though this can be brought about only in the reinforcing atmosphere of the settlement. Gradually a public opinion is created which reacts on lax groups and automatically creates a higher standard to which new clubs conform as a matter of course.¹

Successful club councils come to have genuine interest and concern in the settlement as a neighborhood center. Committees assume charge of departments such as the roof garden, raise money for summer work, organize inter-club and inter-settlement dances, plays, and contests; and with increasing keenness the council measures its success in such enterprise in terms of neighborhood support and approval.²

In not a few crowded city neighborhoods the introduction of just

tion of club life, it began to be applied to the chief divisions of age and sex among settlement clubs. Many houses now federate small, junior and senior boys', girls', and women's clubs.

Membership of the council generally consists of head resident, director of club work, and one or more representatives chosen from the membership of each eligible club. Representation from the settlement staff varies according to the powers granted the council, and ranges from headworker alone to the whole body of residents and part of the board of trustees. In some settlements the number of representatives is governed by the size of the club. Councillors are elected by the club, although the president or another officer sometimes serves ex-officio.

¹ The limited success of some councils has been due to the fact that they have been badly managed, or that too much control has been given at the start. In the last analysis, questions of democracy are questions of business, and it is important that young people should learn that voting power must be in some proportion to financial investment and capacity to assume responsibility over considerable periods of time.

² The gymnasium association with its council provides a good example of practical training for democracy. Through its work the bond between enthusiasts for a special interest is strengthened, and a method afforded for the expression of public opinion in a field within the pointed experience of the constituency. Funds needed to carry on the work of the gymnasium are raised more easily than can be done for any other cause. Respect for success, willingness to be governed by tried and proved leaders, training in the responsibilities of financial management, are among important by-products of the athletic council.

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this measure of new life force is producing results of relative distinction. Even the much handicapped city community, conscious of itself and devoted to its institutions, under leadership is able to develop a range of stimulating acquaintance and of cultural interests broader than those of many a listless better-to-do population group. The settlement characteristically appeals in one direction or another to a variety of personal tastes and tendencies. Abilities of those who can offer what is beautiful and good have some measure of appropriate opportunity. The habit of success in carrying through praiseworthy things is patiently imparted, and a general accredited sense of values gives some measure of elation and grace to a hampered round of existence.

All these values grow and multiply, especially as time is measured by decades. Great gaps, of course, are left by the impossibility of sadly limited resources to surround the field and chase it in on every side. There is the necessary gravitation of settlement thought and energy to sporadic but ever-present problems caused by slack, degenerate, or definitely subnormal tendencies. Certain smolderings of distrust remain, and an occasional outbreak of active prejudice is a thing to be counted on. The old and tried body of support in the neighborhood is constantly being sapped by the removal of enterprising families into better surroundings; while newcomers with a baffling strangeness take their places. Continued wrestling with these difficulties serves to make the settlement all the more of the very texture of things. Its confidence becomes established and habitual as broad plans for lessening the burden of a lagging residuum are formed, as those who have been recalcitrant are at least reminiscently appreciative, as former neighbors who have moved to outlying districts regret the absence of its advantages, as incoming immigrants interpret it to be an authorized expression of the higher hospitality, and as a progressional scheme of out-of-school education from infancy up brings about a keener and broader susceptibility to all that the settlement proposes. The arduous discipline through which it comes to maturity but serves to temper and confirm every phase of its illumining purpose.

But what of the inescapable disturbance to educational aspiration from the ever-present effects of disordered industry and political evil? Men and women of the settlements know in truth that

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profound change in the physical and psychical environment is required by an advancing order of living. However, they realize equally that no adjustment of work and wages, of food and shelter, of convenience within the home or in the intercommunications of neighborhood or city, will automatically usher in what can come only with a steadily more elevated tone and set of mind and heart. It is under both convictions, and finding them inextricably involved, that residents approach those other neighborhood humanities of the outer and inner life that have to do with livelihood, well-being, citizenship.

In this combination and balance of resolves the settlement holds to the teaching of its great forerunners. It moves, however, in keen contrast with the procedure of some of them who, promisingly yet vainly, set out to embody the conceivable good and beauty of a community in phalansteries apart from the risk and benefit that make the common life. The settlement would discover the lineaments of a model community in a given neighborhood, it may be the most ill-favored and ill-assorted. It seeks not to escape, but to be in some sort the leaven to permeate and transform.

IV

NEXT-DOOR TO LABOR

CHAPTER XVI

THE LABOR CAUSE

THE first residents found organized labor almost with its back to the wall; yet struggling into collective consciousness and beginning to clear the path before it. The relatively few statutes for the protection of factory operatives in force before 1890 had been proposed by trade union leaders and passed by way of grudging concession to the labor vote. These successes and the growing spirit of class consciousness among manual workers, led to the formulation of a labor platform calling for a universal eight-hour day, state protection of women and child employes, and establishment of co-operative associations of consumers.

Between 1885 and 1890, a small group of educated men and women, forerunners of a new type of public-spirited citizenship, set out to become acquainted with the issues between labor and capital and to bring ethical tests to bear upon industry. The newly established American Economic Association included among its reasons for existence the following: "We hold that the conflict of labor and capital has brought into prominence a vast number of social problems, whose solution requires the united efforts, each in its own sphere, of the church, of the state and of science." This sentiment was looked upon at the time as very radical, and called forth serious opposition on the part of some members.¹

During the eighties a gradual awakening had been going on in regard to the effects of tenement house manufacture on public health and well-being. Situated in the heart of exploited populations,

¹ Haney, L. H.: *History of Economic Thought*, p. 518. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1911. The following dates indicate the growth of interest in political and social science:

Established, 1865, American Association for the Promotion of Social Science, *Journal of Social Science*, p. 1,869; 1886, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*; 1890, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*; 1892, *Journal of Political Economy*; 1892, *Yale Review*; 1895, *American Journal of Sociology*.

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settlements soon become intimately aware that the worst charges against tenement workshops were not overstated. Residents and nurses not uncommonly found in tenement homes, men, women, or children suffering from measles, diphtheria, tuberculosis, engaged in stitching garments or preparing edibles for sale. Carlyle's dictum made early in the nineteenth century that the plague which begins in the lodge proceeds, as though directed by the supreme intelligence itself, to the mansion, was confirmed in our own times. The first impulse of settlement groups was to shout this terrible human cost from the housetops, to invoke all available laws, and to demand further drastic legislative safeguards. Opportunities were sought to tell the well-to-do that a certain type of employer was exploiting the sanctuary of the home, that labor was being paid for at the mean rate of pennies for dozens, that adult men and women able and eager to work were compelled to draw upon the budding vitality of little children.

The trade union suggested itself as the best weapon with which to meet such conditions, and residents of Neighborhood Guild, Hull House, and other early settlements sought to bring about the organization of new locals by distributing literature in homes, on streets, and at factory doors. New and struggling unions were offered the use of the settlement house. Where quarters were ample, more established unions became regular tenants.¹ In a number of instances substantial assistance was rendered in strikes, which were common during this period. Evidence of the violation of housing and labor laws was sought, and actions were instituted against offenders.

Twenty-five years ago cleavage between capital and labor was frequently made additionally irritating by the sententious assertion of a unity of interest belied by facts that would not down. On the other hand, the experience which residents gained in seeking to control the evils of sweating made it clear that a number of representative business men were ready to help eliminate certain of the worst results of competition. The active efforts of trade unionists in promoting possible and practical steps in legislation indicated an important source of power for industrial upbuilding. Might it

¹ The most important instance of such a relation was that of the Central Federated Union of New York, which met for years at University Settlement.

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not be possible to bring the better inclined in both groups to unite for the solution of specific difficulties and the fairer ordering of one set of conditions after another in the industrial fabric?

Actual carrying out of this aim was fraught with peculiar risk to the mediating purpose of settlements. Some trade union leaders considered it almost a matter of professional honor to be bitter and antagonistic toward all employers. Certain employers were no less pronounced in their scorn and hatred for "walking delegates." Despite discouragement and rebuffs, representative business and professional men and women were gathered into circles to study labor problems, and trade union leaders asked to present their side of the case and to participate in discussion. Almost for the first time employers and representatives of organized labor met in mutual respect and tolerance under a roof where there were no ultimate rights but those of humanity.

As a result of this crossing of lines, in several cities substantial modifications of opinion and definite impulses in the direction of a better relation between employers and wage-earners were set in motion. Influential men of affairs came to understand how working people felt about the way modern industry is conducted; and labor leaders saw that there were some members of the employing group with whom they could enter into frank and full discussion of controversial issues.

The exceptional acquaintance of residents with working-class standards of living, and their known convictions about the right to organize, caused them to be drawn upon by employers and employes alike as arbiters in industrial conflicts. Amid the intense complications of the situation in Chicago Miss Addams served many times upon provisional arbitration committees, and Professor Taylor, in connection with far-reaching and ominous industrial disturbances, has repeatedly been drafted as impartial third member.

The knowledge which residents obtained through such service convinced them that an important cause of industrial disaffection lies in an obvious lack of that fellow-feeling between workmen and administrators of industry which the settlement inspires between residents and neighbors. The cause which actually precipitated a strike was often discovered to reside in the sense of personal humiliation and irritation created by overbearing foremen; in systems

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of petty and nagging fines, exactions, and exceptions impossible to be borne by any spirited person; in elimination of human considerations. It was unthinkable that where millions were being spent in seeking to understand and, through advertising, to reach the moving impulses of consumers, such gross and wasteful carelessness could exist in drawing upon the vital response of producers. A spirit not essentially different from that which dictated the retort of an earlier day, "the public be damned," lingered fully two decades in the relation of employing class toward organized handworkers.

It seemed to residents that many industrial difficulties might be cleared up at considerable saving of time and temper provided there were some easily available machinery for instituting negotiations. During the eighties several states passed acts which made it possible for industrial disputants, if so disposed, to request the commonwealth to appoint arbitrators. Early in the following decade it was urged that permanent boards of arbitration be established and empowered to offer their services. In several states settlement representatives were among the eager and active advocates whose efforts secured the creation of such permanent boards.

The settlement was, however, deeply concerned to anticipate and prevent industrial conflicts by reaching sources of difficulty. One of its important purposes in bringing together representatives of capital and labor in informal ways was that there might be an increasing number of men on both sides who had established personal relations with one another, and who therefore could enter quickly into conference in the early stages of trouble.

The last decade of the nineteenth century, with its exceptionally depressed conditions, was marked by a great degree of scattered unrest. Many types of doctrinaire scheme, both native and foreign, for social reorganization, were represented in working-class localities.¹ Exponents of these various economic faiths naturally disclosed themselves among the members of clubs and classes. The dogma in which these young people were grounded, as any dogma does, gave them a sense of intellectual orientation, stimulated them

¹ Nationalism, single tax, populism, Coxeyism, philosophical anarchy, socialism, and religious cults too numerous even to mention, were included in these schemes. Socialism was the most important, both in intellectual importance and number of adherents.

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to read history and economics, made them facile in discussion, and helped to create a ferment of ideas.¹

Leading local advocates of this or that cause, on their part, were quick to point out inconsistencies of motive and practice in what was to them a niggling approach to the problem of reorganizing society. However much one might disagree with a proposed cure, it was impossible not to be affected by the crude but pungent intelligence with which certain critics who had experienced them set forth the evils of industrialism. Residents were driven to examine patiently and carefully the general motives and programs of various types of socialism and philosophic anarchy, as well to meet the constant questioning in their own breasts as to reply to propagandists.

Their own heartburnings and uncertainties disposed the settlement personnel to be tolerant of all who were honest in their desire to probe underlying causes of suffering and unrest. From any point of view it seemed wiser to encourage expression of opinion, with the chances of its modification through continuous presentation and at least partly sympathetic reply, than to see extremists driven by ill-considered attempts at repression into underground and wholly irresponsible propaganda. During the nineties a number of settlements in large cities organized occasional public meetings with an opportunity for free discussion.

Conditions in Chicago demanded more thoroughgoing treatment.² In the spring of 1890 residents of Hull House organized the Working People's Social Science Club, which met weekly to listen to an address at the close of which there was opportunity for discussion; in 1894 Chicago Commons opened its "free floor."

¹ Kingsbury, Mary (Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch): *Socialism as an Educative and Social Force on the East Side*. Publication of the Christian Social Union, No. 49, New York, 1898.

² In Boston, New York, and smaller cities there were sufficient opportunities for free speech so that radicals had fair opportunity for presenting their views. Chicago, burdened with industrial and sanitary problems so extreme that they could hardly help creating anarchists and socialists, was not so fortunate. The riot of May, 1886, in the Haymarket left citizens nervous and inclined to be intolerant of the desire of the more radical elements for public utterance. Protest by labor against the conditions of work and life were passed over with a demand by the public for better police protection. As a result, a proportion of the people smarted under a sense of high-handed repression. See Addams, Jane: *Twenty Years at Hull House*, pp. 177-79.

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The free floor was the best possible outlet for expression of disappointment and economic hardship, especially in immigrant districts where people had no organization or papers through which to voice their feelings. The mere chagrin of oversanguine newcomers was appreciated in its true quality. Doctrinaires came to see that extreme proposals were frowned upon by working people. Open-minded adherents of real programs found that there were educated American men and women who always respected and often agreed with them.

When meetings passed clearly beyond this phase of genuine and immediate service, as they did shortly after the opening of the new century, and were systematically dominated by rigidly opinionated and semi-professional propagandists from all over the city, they were discontinued. But it is indicative of settlement freedom and flexibility that for a full decade in a number of city communities almost the only organizations which stood consistently for free speech, and, as long as there was no other way, themselves provided a platform where an unpopular cause might have responsible expression, were a few struggling neighborhood houses.¹

The settlement mind was deeply scored during the middle of the nineties by successive winters of widespread unemployment. It seemed to many residents, compelled during these cruel years to be almost impotent observers of actual hunger and undernourishment suffered by capable adults and promising children, bitter disappointment of youth smarting under the failure of cherished hopes of education and advancement, deep personal humiliation of heads of families anxious to work yet compelled to live on the wages of wife and children or on charity, that the moral order itself had been found wanting. The depression of 1893-1897 was the settlement's baptism of fire. Any lurking element of sentimentality, of superficiality, of mere palliation, was burned away. Those who came through these four years were convinced of the crude and vast insufficiency of the old individualism whose sanctions had been so deeply wrought into all that was American. The right to work had become to them the corollary of the right to live. The immediate

¹ The forums which have of recent years been established in so many cities appeal to a more general constituency. The speaker in each case is selected by the management of the forum. Discussion from the floor is usually not permitted, although each person may ask one or two questions.

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issue was whether the well-to-do would remain smugly satisfied with their advantages, choosing to be without cognizance of disabilities under which working people existed, or whether they would respond, broadly and generously through both voluntary and public action, to the need for better working conditions, more accurate adjustment between wages and a proper scale of living, more wholesome home and community environment, and more satisfactory provision for the normal amenities of life.

To a small group of residents, in the end, there appeared no possibility of amelioration short of the administration of industry by the state in the interest of all citizens. These withdrew to devote themselves to the propaganda of socialism.¹

The main settlement contingent, holding long-range hopes and postulates of their own as to a better order of society, saw it as a duty and an opportunity to exercise the "passion of patience." Members felt that the industrial situation called for specific object lessons in right relations; for a demonstration, step by step without flaw or gap, made cumulative by years, of the desirability and even necessity of devoting to the human factor in production the same intensity of thought and purpose that was being put into invention, finance, and salesmanship.

These various forms of expression and effort placed residents among the most prominent supporters from without of the general principles of trade unionism and of generous tolerance toward their application. They have brought whole groups of thoughtful people not involved in either side of the labor conflict to see that the organization of workers is inevitably bound up with a highly organized system of manufacturing, trade, and finance. Such relations, however, do not imply on the part of all settlements, or indeed of any one of them, wholesale commitment to trade union policy and procedure. While a few individual residents have cast in their lot

¹ Among these may be mentioned Robert Hunter, J. G. Phelps-Stokes, and William English Walling. Robert Hunter was first a charity organization agent in the Hull House neighborhood. He became a resident at Hull House, and later head resident at University Settlement in New York. His book, *Poverty*, was an important contribution in the child labor movement.

J. G. Phelps-Stokes, an early volunteer at University Settlement in the nineties, developed a social philosophy which he called *Omniism*. In 1905 he helped found the Intercollegiate Socialist Society and in 1907 became its president.

The proposals and activities of this group have shown a decidedly more practical side than is usual among party and doctrinaire socialists.

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with the full tradition of organized labor, the great body of workers have hardly been more than sympathetic onlookers. The attitude of representative settlements has been one of practical approval and positive co-operation on general principles, while holding and expressing definite convictions as to the right and just standards of trade union leadership and administration. No one has, on occasion, more strongly and clearly pointed out the faults of organized labor than Professor Taylor. In fact, every settlement person who makes it a practice to co-operate with trade union leaders expects to have a continuous series of friendly differences with them.

The spread of broader and more human conceptions about the rights, duties, and aspirations of labor, in which settlements directly and indirectly have had so real a part, together with the steady growth of trade unionism during the past twenty-five years, have eliminated the need of the kind of moral intervention during strikes which settlements for nearly two decades provided. The main body of the labor movement, in consequence of its phenomenal increase of power since the entrance in 1917 of the United States into the war, is today strong and self-confident beyond its dreams of the early nineties.

Without losing contact with it, settlements have turned rather to the weak in the struggle. The fine stroke of guiding immigrant garment workers of New York into a system of peaceful adjudication with employers, themselves hardly more than immigrants, continued through a period of years, owed much to a group of settlement representatives. The sympathetic attitude of the settlement has not been stretched to include the highly individualistic form represented by the Industrial Workers of the World; on occasion their effort has been a redoubled one in the direction of securing, amid the concern aroused by syndicalist methods, a community of interest between employers and responsible trade unions. Above all, in season, out of season, through good and ill report, settlements seek to enforce by every means in their power the lesson that employers, workmen, and public are necessarily and inextricably engaged with one another; that each has obligations partly obvious, partly subtle, to the others, which the forces of history will, if need be, compel them to fulfil.

CHAPTER XVII

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY

WAGE-EARNING women, thirty-five years ago, were in a peculiar sense being ground between upper and nether millstone. Employers, finding them ill-informed, unorganized, tractable, felt under no necessity to take thought about their compensation or conditions of work. Trade unionists, increasingly restive under invasion of fields hitherto reserved to men, spent their energies on the fundamental task of protecting the wage scale of heads of families.

The public, on the other hand, was beginning to realize that something was wrong. The pouring of native women and immigrant men into sewing trades, and the competition that ensued between these groups, became a matter of anxiety in some quarters. The rapid exodus of thousands of young girls from the protection of their homes into the irresponsible interchange of store and factory was looked upon by right-minded people with concern. There was a popular impression, happily proved untrue, that the ranks of prostitution were largely recruited from factories; and there came to be a certain stigma upon working girls as a class.

Establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor in 1869 under Carroll D. Wright had marked an important step in the progress of public awakening. From 1871 to 1885, nearly all annual reports issued by the bureau included data bearing on the education and employment of young persons, health of working women, and standards of living among factory operatives. The interest of which these reports were both manifestation and cause led to the Massachusetts Factory Act of 1874, which prohibited employment of children under thirteen years and limited the hours that women and children might work to ten daily. Twelve years elapsed before the New York state legislature, urged by the Workingmen's Assembly, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children,

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and the New York State Medical Society, passed a similar statute; though it covered only part of the industries in which women and children were employed, carried but meager provision for enforcement, and limited its protection to women under twenty-one.

Establishment of the settlements coincided with the beginnings of trade unionism among women. In 1886 the Knights of Labor appointed a woman on its paid executive staff to investigate conditions under which her own sex were employed. She spoke before gatherings in the eastern half of the country and enlisted the assistance of a number of women of influence who became, during the next decade, valuable allies in the movement for better laws. A year or two later a group from this number formed the New York Working Women's Society. At its first public meeting, held in February, 1888, the society declared its purpose to "found trade organizations . . . and to encourage and assist existing labor organizations, to the end of increasing wages and shortening hours." In 1890 members secured an amendment to the factory act which provided for appointment of female factory inspectors. During the same winter an investigation was made of working conditions in retail stores, and public discussion of findings led in 1890, for the first time, to organized effort on the part of customers to secure improved conditions for employes. In this undertaking representatives of the two infant settlements in the metropolis participated.

The fact that women residents had found a large new field for their powers and were experiencing some of the adventure afforded by vocations out of the home, made them conscious that there was such a thing as economic solidarity among women. They hoped to have a hand in making conditions under which all women shall share in the varied work of the world.

Under this impulse early residents sought acquaintance with women organizers of labor and allied themselves with groups aiming to protect the health and leisure of employed girls. A number tried on their own initiative to organize young women of the neighborhood. Practically all houses set out to secure the enforcement of labor laws, including Sunday closing. Detailed inquiries were made about the actual working hours, sanitary conditions, and processes said to subject women to special strain or to

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show an unduly high rate of sickness, in nearby factories and retail shops. Residents of Hull House sought to measure scientifically the actual bodily and nervous fatigue of factory work. Moral perils which grew out of placing girls and women in close association with men and boys, together with dangers met in going to and from home and factory, received earnest consideration. Certain women residents began to study the history of their sex in industry and the evolution of protective legislation. The concrete experience of European countries was gathered and disseminated through addresses, newspaper reports and, not less effectively, through conversations with many influential persons.

The practical phase of this interest began in 1892, when Mrs. Florence Kelley suggested to the Illinois Bureau of Labor, through its chief, the need of investigating the sweated industries.¹ She was asked to direct the inquiry authorized as a result of her request. The campaign of publicity which followed the presentation of her report to the legislature enabled residents of Hull House, with the help of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, to secure the passage in July, 1893, of the first comprehensive Illinois factory act. This law separated homes from shops and limited working hours of women to eight a day.

Mrs. Kelley was appointed factory inspector; Mrs. Alzina P. Stevens, one of the first women to be admitted to the Typographical Union, was made assistant; and Mary E. Kenny,² an early neighborhood friend of Hull House, organizer of the Bookbinders' Union, and a forceful lobbyist for the bill, became a deputy. Mrs. Kelley's experience laid the foundation for what has gradually become the unanimous conviction of settlement workers that household manufacture must be abolished; that only by requiring all processes of production to be carried on under conditions which admit of legal regulation and state inspection, will laggard employers conform to standards already accepted by their more enterprising competitors.

The clause in the factory act limiting working hours of girls and

¹ Mrs. Kelley became a resident at Hull House in 1891, and at Henry Street Settlement, New York, in 1899.

² Mrs. O'Sullivan, later active in the Boston Women's Trade Union League; now factory inspector in Massachusetts.

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women was at once contested in the courts. An eight-hour club was formed, new trade unions established, existing organizations among working women strengthened, and public support obtained. In March, 1895, the act was declared unconstitutional; and until the court reversed itself in 1911 Illinois remained without any restriction on the number of hours women might be required to work.

While this agitation against the ill-effects of industrialism was in progress, housewives often retorted, "Servants are scarce, why should girls endure such things?" This question called for direct answer. Settlements were in possession of first-hand and rather exclusive evidence. They found that under city conditions the relation between mistress and maid was fast losing its human quality and approximating that which had already become fixed between master and man in industry. While working women sought the spirit of democracy, prosperous families were adopting a standard of life more and more informed, albeit often unconsciously, by autocracy and patronage. From the point of view of the employed girl, long hours, scant leisure, frequently poor living conditions, loneliness from being always an alien in the family group, imperilled standing among her own friends, lessened chances for romance and marriage, and real moral peril, created a handicap too great to offset any slight increase in income. Factory, store, and office held greater possibilities of personal fulfilment, present and future.

All the more, some settlement women felt that steps should be devised to place domestic service upon a more tolerable basis. Investigation of employment bureaus found in working-class neighborhoods showed that some of these places made a business of catering to vice. It was an anomaly that the one industry which seemed to offer women safe and protected employment in the home should be so beset by danger; that while it had developed an institution apparently on the principle of the labor exchange, this agency in its actual operation was without proper public supervision and a source of peril.¹ In several large cities the organized

¹ Sandford, Mabel W.: *Domestic Service from the Point of View of the Intelligence Office*. (Study under the direction of the College Settlements Association, 1903-1905.) Kellor, Frances A.: *Employment Bureaus for Women*. As a result of these studies Miss Kellor organized the work of the Inter-Municipal Committee of Household Research.

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action which followed this discovery brought about the licensing of employment bureaus and marked improvement in their administration.

Although the depression of 1893-1897 sapped the strength of trade unions and halted the purposes of those who sought to assist working-class organization, the process of economic and moral readjustment was ultimately hastened. A highly important though hardly foreseen result of the experience of these bitter years was establishment of the principle that the state is not only justified, but under conditions of stress in duty bound to interfere on behalf of less-favored classes. This precedent was of decisive influence in furthering protective legislation for working women and children.

With the return early in the century of normal industrial conditions, interest in trade unionism revived. Settlements here and there now began to offer the use of their rooms to new and struggling unions of working women and took a hand in organizing such groups. Among the most interesting of these unions was Local 183 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers of North America, an outgrowth of the Maude Gonne Club of the University of Chicago Settlement. Though it went down in the great strike of 1904, the spirit of its founders lived for half a decade and nourished the determination of leaders among the girls to obtain fair conditions of work.

Many residents during the nineties devoted a substantial amount of time to enlisting well-to-do women more generally in the efforts of working girls to better their conditions. Girls on their part were inclined to be critical of the manners, motives, and spirit of such volunteers; and an important part of the service rendered at some houses consisted in proving that a steadily increasing number of educated women are in sympathy with working-class hopes. The growth here and there of new unions of women during the five years between 1898 and 1903 led to a feeling on the part of outside friends that the cause would gain through creation of a general body of convinced support able to keep the torch of unionism lighted, whatever might be the fortune of particular locals. The formation in 1903 at the instance of William English Walling and

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Mary Kenny O'Sullivan, of the Women's Trade Union League,¹ and the establishment during 1904 of branches in Chicago, New York, and Boston was carried out with the hearty assistance of city, state, and national labor organizations. During the formative period in its career officers and members of the executive committee were in large part persons affiliated with settlements.

In addition to organizing trade unions, different branches of the league carry on forms of self-help such as medical assistance, loans, vacation camps, evening recreation, cultural classes, and generous assistance to immigrants.² The most striking activity of national organization was the movement which brought about a country-wide study of women and children wage-earners. In 1905 Mary E. McDowell, who had long felt that her representations to the public in behalf of wage-earning women and particularly of girls in the stockyards were hampered for want of authoritative figures, became chairman of a committee to advocate a national survey of women in industry. She invoked the assistance of President Roosevelt, Charles P. Neill, then United States Commissioner of Labor and a former resident of University of Chicago Settlement, the American Federation of Labor, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and settlements throughout the country. In 1907 an act authorizing the investigation was passed. A number of women from different settlements served on the field staff, and from city to city local resident groups furnished valuable suggestion and assistance.³

The facts were adequately gathered and were presented without bias. While not a great deal that was new came to light, the main contentions of those in favor of legal protection for wage-earning women and children were confirmed with a degree of positiveness and detail previously unattainable and not to be further questioned. The report has therefore been drawn on freely and fully to support

¹ The league, modeled on a British prototype founded in 1874, was organized at Faneuil Hall, Boston, on November 14, 1903.

² A department of the Chicago league organized to care for immigrant women developed into the Chicago Immigrants' Protective League.

³ United States: Commerce and Labor Department, Report on the Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, 19 vols. Washington, D. C., 1910-1913.

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legislation for a minimum wage, protection of working children, industrial education, labor exchanges, and industrial insurance. Indeed, a considerable number of laws affecting women and children secured during the second decade found their substantial suggestion and compulsion in data provided by this study.

Formation of the Women's Trade Union League strengthened existing locals and led to organization of new unions. The more intense matching of industrial forces naturally resulted in a series of sporadic strikes and other signs of ferment. It was clear that a period of storm and strain was upon the league, and that capable and devoted leadership must be found for it. By an exceptionally happy stroke its principal promoters, in 1907, enlisted Mrs. Raymond Robins as president.¹ Under her inspiring guidance the league increased rapidly in power and resource. Able leaders from the ranks were discovered and trained. Since 1910, therefore, settlement representatives have gradually withdrawn from active participation and have served rather as auxiliaries ready to be called on in periods of stress. During the great garment strikes in New York (1909), Philadelphia (1910), and Chicago (1910-1911), a number of residents and associate workers assisted in arousing public opinion, patrolling streets, bailing girls unjustly arrested, securing fair play in court, raising funds, forming new locals, and serving on boards of arbitration.

The chief ground for confidence in the future is the splendid capacity and spirit of leaders coming directly from the ranks, who have brought to the promotion of their cause not only an immediate knowledge of facts and an interpretation which no one else could supply, but also rare vitality of judgment and the ability to present their findings to the public. The very coming forward of this indigent initiative, however, only serves to open out a broader and longer perspective within which educated women must continue to render service to the cause of their employed sisters. There is all the more need for the scientific training and insight possessed by such women as Florence Kelley, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Dr. Caroline Hedger, Josephine Goldmark, for the large gifts of human

¹ Mr. and Mrs. Robins continued for some years to live in the West Side of Chicago not far from the scene of Mr. Robins' former work as head of Northwestern University Settlement.

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vision of Mary E. McDowell, and for the promise illustrated in the brief but shining career of Carola Woerishoffer.¹

Every step in the protection of women industrial employes is naturally associated with consideration for children thrown upon the labor market. It is morally revolting and economically futile to wear out the powers of potential mothers; and equally abhorrent to cut off the promise of solid return which coming grown men and women will be able to make to the community, for the sake of a meager fraction of service absorbed out of the sapling measure of their capacity. Early residents quickly recognized that some form of barrier, however makeshift, must be devised to protect boys and girls just leaving school. Appeal to public authority, such as that taken in the case of women factory employes, was a natural step even under the old conception of governmental functions.

Down to the early nineties, child labor laws were, in the main, a tissue of compromises. First-hand contact with the entire range of child life gave residents knowledge about the way factory code and compulsory education laws were affecting children, family, school, and neighborhood. Where this general background was reinforced by detailed acquaintance with the local administration of child labor laws, and by thoroughgoing knowledge of statutes and procedure in other states and nations, as was the case in several instances, a wholly new stage for this country in the treatment of the problem of the employed child was ushered in.²

The phase of child labor which most insistently thrust itself before the first residents was that of the street trades. For a third of a century newsboys, bootblacks, and messengers, sole support of widowed mothers with large families of smaller children, were among the most thrilling stock themes of popular story-tellers. Verbal tradition was strengthened by the canvases of J. G. Brown and his imitators, whose healthy and superficially untidy street

¹ Carola Woerishoffer, *Her Life and Work*, published by the class of 1907 of Bryn Mawr College, 1912.

² Comparison of such a piece of writing as Mrs. Kelley's and Mrs. Stevens' "Wage-Earning Children," published in *Hull House Maps and Papers* (1895), with the pitifully meager dozen of titles listed in the "Bibliography of Child Labor in the United States," appended to their article, shows how little had been accomplished toward a comprehensive understanding of the relation of children to industry. No one questions the priority of Mrs. Kelley among inspired champions of childhood in the United States.

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arabs wore their rags with the grace of modern troubadours. In theory these children were putting on moral muscle. Through sharing the burdens of their unfortunate elders, they were presumed to be acquiring in exceptional measure those habits of early rising, initiative, faithfulness, and capacity for sustained effort which were the heralded bases of the nation's great fortunes. To observers who lived continuously amid realities, the streets were seen to be a forcing bed for theft, gambling, brutality, and degeneracy from which few of their denizens escaped wholly unscathed.

The world of street labor was paralleled by a realm of home labor. School children and others of tenderer age often worked far into the night pulling out bastings, picking nuts, and making artificial flowers, to name only a few occupations. Early residents were shocked to discover the number of parents who regarded offspring as potential sources of revenue to be realized upon as quickly as the community would permit, and ready to perjure themselves as often as necessary to secure even a small increase in family income. Burden of proof as to working age, it became clear, must be upon parent as well as employer.

During the nineties the chief energy of settlements went into securing legislation which should actualize moral sentiment in favor of compulsory education through the thirteenth year. Residents of Hull House had included a child labor clause in the Illinois Factory Act of 1893 which forbade employment of children under fourteen years of age in manufacture, required an age certificate for all under sixteen, and limited the hours of women and children to eight.¹ By an amendment the legislature of 1897 brought commercial establishments within the provision. In 1903 a statute restricted the working day of children under sixteen to eight hours and forbade their employment after seven o'clock in the evening.

Early child labor provisions, as a rule, excepted from their protection the children of widowed or dependent elders. Settlement scrutiny brought to light, in case after case, the fact that the number of such men and women was small, while any loophole in the law was taken advantage of by careless, shiftless, or avaricious

¹ In 1890 the city of Chicago passed an ordinance prohibiting the employment of children under ten years of age. In 1891 the legislature raised the age to thirteen, but excepted children of dependent parents.

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adults. Residents of Hull House had written into the Illinois act of 1897 a clause abolishing this exemption. Unfortunately the statute was drawn in such a way that it could not be enforced; and it was not until 1913 that a workable act was obtained. Miss Addams then asked that all cases of distress resulting from its enforcement be reported to her. Four months later only eight families throughout the entire state had been discovered in which withdrawal of a child from industry involved even a suspicion of hardship; and these cases were met by money scholarships. Thus was one of the hoariest lies through which children had long been robbed of their right to education and bound to poverty, forever laid.

In New York, first-hand experience with the devices by which parents, guardians, employers, lawyers of a sort, and professional sharpers contrive to make gain of working powers of small children gradually urged settlements to comprehensive and practicable child labor statutes. When the legislature, in 1895, appointed a committee to study the work of women and children in mercantile establishments, various residents were ready with detailed knowledge of conditions existing in small stores of the East Side and of the effect of employment in department stores on the lives of working girls. The labor of this committee led in 1896 to a law extending the main provisions of the factory act to mercantile employment.

In the spring of 1902 the settlements organized a child labor committee, of which Robert Hunter, then headworker of University Settlement, was chairman.¹ Documentary evidence of the age of children under sixteen, reduction of hours to nine a day without exception, regulation of street trades, co-ordination of factory and compulsory education laws so that children under fourteen might be required to attend school during the entire term and those between fourteen and sixteen to attend school if not employed, were asked for. In 1903 the legislature passed a statute embodying all these provisions. The New York state child labor legislation thereby became a model for other states and has had a marked influence throughout the country during the intervening years.²

¹ As the scope of the work undertaken by the committee grew, it was found advisable to ask assistance of men and women outside settlement ranks; before the year ended the committee had become broadly representative of the whole city.

² See Appendix, p. 417, Note VII.—Settlement Assistance in Legislation.

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It is a curious fact that street trades have had to wait longest before receiving attention. This was partly because they could not be reached through existing organizations such as schools and business concerns, and partly because legal classification of newsboys and bootblacks as "merchants" shuts them out from the beneficent provisions of child labor laws. Acting on English legislative experience, a group of Boston people including representatives of settlements obtained a law in 1902 providing that children under ten years of age should not be occupied as newsboys or bootblacks, nor those under twelve as peddlers or messengers. Further enactments provided that children between ten and fourteen years could engage in a gainful occupation only upon application of parent or guardian and the possession of a license countersigned by a teacher and school principal. Administration of this act was shortly placed in charge of the school board, and a superintendent of licensed minors, for some years member of a settlement staff, appointed to attend to its enforcement.

The results of Massachusetts initiative were incorporated by New York settlements into the Child Labor Law of 1903, and in a number of cases municipalities in other states have passed similar regulations. The Newark street trades law of 1904 was enforced from settlement houses.

The loophole offered by home work is doubtless the weakest spot in the present machinery for protection of children from industrial strain. The last state of boys and girls exploited under plea of house as castle may easily be worse, at least so far as health is concerned, than that of juvenile factory employes supervised by state inspectors. The endeavor to correct abuse by licensing home workshops and providing for their regular inspection is on trial in Massachusetts. While the modest degree of supervision secured has by no means eliminated the evil, it has distinctly lessened it. The lowest grade of family finds it difficult if not impossible to secure licenses. .

General progress made in one state after another led, in 1904, to organization of the National Child Labor Committee. A number of settlement representatives continued for a season among its officers and executive board. The Federal Child Labor Law of 1916 which, first in one form, then in another, has served to bring all the states up to a high level in the protection of young life from

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the burden of industry, was specifically the achievement of this national committee.

An important stage in the effort to make results of settlement experience in local neighborhoods minister to the needs of all children is represented by the Federal Children's Bureau. The plan of a governmental authority charged with the duty of collecting information about all forms of out-of-school experience in child nurture, and of making its results widely available, originated with Miss Wald and Mrs. Kelley. The organization of the National Child Labor Committee made it the logical sponsor for the bill authorizing a Children's Bureau, which was passed by Congress and signed by President Taft in 1912. Julia C. Lathrop, who brought pre-eminent ability and training gained by cumulative public service to her task, was made chief of the bureau.¹ The new department has become a recognized power for the better estate of home and community life throughout the nation.

Three decades of experience show that democratic advance in the strata of population known to settlements waits on establishment of the minimum tax which may be laid by industry on the time and strength of men, women, children, and the unborn; and on the degree of well-being attainable through the average wage. Maintenance of the American standard of living in all its aspects, physical, moral, and associational, despite immigration, greed, and civic carelessness, constitutes one of the chief enterprises of awakened citizenship. A primary step toward this great end is passage of laws to curb the money lust of employers, consumers, and parents as prerequisite toward freeing and directing the more deeply productive powers of youth. Though much has been accomplished, much remains to be done.

¹ Resigned 1921; was succeeded by Grace Abbott, for many years a resident at Hull House.

CHAPTER XVIII

BELOW THE POVERTY LINE

ALTHOUGH early residents came prepared, in the words of Mr. Barnett, "to sup sorrow with the poor," they were far from realizing in advance the variety and poignancy of the claims that want would make upon them. Their acquaintance with the life of poverty had been of the slightest. They were still, in spite of themselves, somewhat under the traditional impression that extreme need, in the land of opportunity, could be only a superficial and casual phenomenon. Coming with an overture to self-sustaining though struggling wage-earners, they were inclined to look upon every one as belonging by choice to the ranks of honest labor.

An attitude so oversanguine carried its own penalty. Almost before they knew what was happening, residents found themselves besieged by various camp-followers of poverty. Tramps, chronic loafers, beggars, cheats, ne'er-do-wells, sought to make gain of the optimism of young reformers. Though disillusioning, such experience was not without compensations. The very pain and disappointment which followed failure of detailed and sympathetic effort indicated forms of human need so deep and thoroughgoing as to demand remedies of a kind not yet created. It was then that settlement adepts began to question whether extreme cases, far from being merely given up in despair, were not a summons to deep and broad community action.

Reaching beyond forms of poverty which are an obvious expression of physical and moral degeneracy, settlements were soon involved in cases of sporadic misery traceable directly to low-grade family life, incapacity to bear responsibility, and shiftlessness. They were frequently impelled to assist far from worthy heads of households in order to safeguard children with whom they had already become friends. Side by side with such instances, how-

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ever, neighborly goodwill began to distinguish economic hardship clearly traceable, not to defects of character but to accident, sickness, death, unemployment, unforeseen responsibility, fluctuation of industry. Here came the moving discovery of the neighbor "who will not let them starve"; of the poor helping one another through direct and immediate sharing and through benefit entertainments of various sorts.

Residents were forced to choose between having the settlement itself become a relief-giving center, identified inevitably with those seeking material aid, or of acting through agencies designed for such service. In cities where a charity organization society under one name or another was already at work, common cause was quickly made with it. Where no such agency existed, settlements were compelled to relieve distress, wherever and whenever it appeared, while building up sentiment in the city for the creation of a specialized system. In several cities residents had an important share in bringing about the organization of a co-ordinated and centralized system of relief; and in others staff members have served during long periods on executive boards of charitable agencies.¹

The working alliance between settlements and local charity organization offices thus early begun continues to be universally and mutually helpful. One or more residents are usually detailed to serve as members of the consulting group, both to contribute the results of local acquaintance and experience, and to increase their own knowledge of undisclosed hard facts. When families known to the staff lapse below self-support, they are referred to the society. Correlatively, cases originating with a relief society are often referred to the settlement, which then seeks to bring its educational resources to bear in sustaining the family in its struggle to win and hold a new level.

While thus avoiding distraction from its educational and com-

¹ The situation in Chicago during the nineties may be taken as typical. Each winter residents had to give a large part of their attention to pressing problems of acute need. Relief funds were raised, and lodging houses, employment bureaus, and other agencies of like nature established. Largely as a result of settlement experience and initiative, the present United Charities was organized, with which settlements have always continued to co-operate.

Herbert H. Jacobs, of University Settlement, Milwaukee, and James O. White, who with Mrs. White directs Union Bethel Settlement in Cincinnati, have for some years maintained working relations directly and indirectly with both public and private agencies for relief.

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prehensive purpose, which would be caused by stress of relief-giving, the settlement by no means abrogates its function of first-aid station to which neighbors may come when they fall into trouble. The fact that the resident staff is subject to call twenty-four hours a day has, in most instances, brought about a tacit understanding with local charity conferences under which residents meet emergencies after business hours, and on Sundays and holidays.

Settlement workers acknowledge their indebtedness to the admirable case work technique initiated by charity organization societies. The value of a corpus of experience such as that contained in Mary E. Richmond's volume, *Social Diagnosis*, can hardly be overestimated.¹ There are, however, certain friendly differences of judgment between the two branches of service. Residents cannot escape the fact that in the view of working people, to be known or even suspected of being an object of charity carries with it a sense of separation from one's circle of acquaintance and a connotation of moral blame. They therefore reserve the privilege of giving material assistance to families with whom they have been long acquainted. Followed with care and restraint, such downright playing the neighbor's part, instead of weakening the fiber of people's self-respect, nearly always elicits unsuspected reserves of purpose.

Settlements almost without exception are opposed to registration of members of their educational and recreational groups in a confidential exchange. The stigma which in the minds of people attaches to such records, and the possible invasion of jealously guarded privacy which such enlistment permits, more than overbalance in the case of those not receiving material relief, the administrative advantages which the registry in general certainly possesses.²

Persons who go to live in tenement localities, because they feel the psychological difficulty which men and women of favored groups, unwittingly to themselves, have in judging working people's standards and motives, are likely to believe that sound judgment is only

¹ New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1917.

² All the substantial values that might be expected to grow out of complete registration are already secured. Inquiries from responsible agencies about specific families known to the settlement are always answered. Residents on their part consult the confidential exchange about families whose necessities involve detailed case work. Such action automatically records the name of the family.

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acquired through participating in neighborhood life. It is easier for a neighbor than for an outsider to achieve the understanding of friendliness, to be more conscious of the individual than of his need, to keep clearly in mind his potential powers and to have faith in his capacity for advance; to see in pain and suffering a reproach and a challenge to helper not less than to helped.

In a few instances residents are attempting to draw upon the good sense of neighbors for diagnosis, plan, and relief. The larger and more resourceful women's clubs set aside sums for local relief. The committee of neighbors associated with Hudson Guild makes itself responsible for quietly rendering first-aid in many phases of acute poverty. It then seeks the co-operation of local agencies in carrying out a timely neighborly plan of assistance.

The helping hand of the friend and neighbor corresponds to the upper end of a spectrum whose dark extreme is commitment to a public charitable institution. Twenty years ago many men and women still believed that authorities of hospitals and infirmaries freely used the contents of a "black bottle" to do away with patients who made trouble or required extra care. The poorhouse represented the uttermost depth of bodily hardship and spiritual degradation reserved for this world. The intensity and universality of this recoil gave it a peculiar hold upon the settlement mind. Utterly unbelievable were the things set forth about the "charities" by those who claimed to be speaking from experience. Convinced repetition and the strength of local tradition made it clearly a duty to investigate. A disturbing residuum of fact was uncovered. A kind of responsible criticism of public institutions was undertaken from some of the settlements, which, as it spread, has helped to bring about a more considerate type of control.

The able services of Miss Lathrop in establishing the bitter facts and indicating the outlines of better policy have been of national importance. Shortly after joining Hull House in 1889, she became a county visitor for the outdoor relief section of the department of charities, and undertook to inquire thoroughly into all applications within a radius of ten blocks of the settlement. As a result of exceptional acquaintance which she came to have with the round of life among the poor, in 1893 she was appointed to the State Board of Charities. Contrary to all precedent, Miss Lathrop took

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with serious eagerness a rule that county poorhouses should be visited by a board member at least once a year, and for two years gave a considerable part of her time to inspecting these establishments all over the state. She became not only the best informed person in Illinois on conditions in public institutions, but the one individual capable of viewing their administration as well from the standpoint of inmates as from that of officials.

Largely as the result of Miss Lathrop's influence, a law was obtained bringing under civil service those employed in administering public charities; more liberal provision was made for state care of defectives; improvements in the sanitary and living conditions of many county poorhouses and jails and various reforms in methods of nursing dependents in public hospitals were instituted; a state colony for epileptics was established.

In Chicago the opportunity for thoroughgoing readjustment in public charitable institutions finally appeared in 1901 as a result of an unusually serious exposé at Dunning, a combined poor farm and insane asylum. Miss Lathrop pledged the leading newspapers to support a genuine, instead of the usual whitewashing, investigation, and secured the appointment of a commission of capable citizens. This committee, with the assistance of an aroused public opinion, induced the city to vote the sum of \$500,000 to move the institution to new quarters where real farming could be done, and to establish it upon a modern sanitary, medical, and humane basis.

While the work of Miss Lathrop is unique, settlement residents in large cities have had an important part in righting injustice, in creating that wave of sympathy which demands skilled and kindly hospital care for the critically sick and mentally diseased, and in urging that the last days of the worthy aged be guaranteed in some measure against the type of poorhouse which is more than half correctional institution.¹ Not the least valuable outcome of such criticism has been the demonstration that degradation of public charitable institutions is in peculiar measure a result of the civic insufficiency of those strata of society which are the most likely to provide inmates.

The two broad divisions of dependency were very strongly emphasized during the lean years from 1893 to 1897, and again

¹ See Addams, Jane: *Twenty Years at Hull House*, pp. 154 ff., and 165 ff.

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in 1900, 1907, and 1914. An important result of the first of these experiences was that the unemployed were forever differentiated for purposes of treatment from other dependent types. Residents during the nineties illustrated the value of a local foothold as a means of finding out both the extent of unemployment and its resulting distress, and of applying remedies. Understatement and overstatement were corrected on the basis of first-hand knowledge. Young business men were brought together to study the situation. Funds for relief were secured and the needs of ordinarily self-sufficient families reached partly through trade unions and other working-class organizations. Committees were organized to devise temporary forms of industry. Men were set to clean streets and to carry on other public and semi-public work, while women were employed in improvised workrooms.

Experience revealed in sharp outline the economic menace of the presence of vagrants who work only when they have no other recourse. American settlements were able to second and reinforce the brilliant generalization of Charles Booth that abnormally low wages and excessive unemployment, which bear so hard on the laborer with a family, are in important measure chargeable to the presence of large numbers of unencumbered men.¹ Residents at South End House presented their conclusions before a legislative board appointed in 1894 to investigate unemployment. In combination with other citizens a law was secured requiring towns which lodge and feed wayfarers to apply a work test. For some years tramps have found it increasingly difficult to approach large cities in Massachusetts, which are by a happy chance at a distance from other state lines, without facing the disagreeable necessity of working.

An important result of dealing thus broadly with the tramp is that it leaves more energy and resource for the unmistakable victims of an ill-adjusted order of things. The most appealing of such types is the aged who treasure freedom and self-respect often in the face of serious hardship and suffering, holding fast to any occupation which affords protection against the hated approach of pauperism. A few houses have carried on workrooms where a small number of

¹ Labor and Life of the People in London, Vol. I, East London, p. 154. London, Williams and Norgate, 1889.

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such old people are employed at simple tasks. In 1914 the Greenwich House Committee on Investigation directed a study into old age poverty in the neighborhood, the first considerable effort in this country to analyze types of aged poor in a metropolitan district and ways by which they manage to exist.¹ The results indicate in convincing terms the need of a program of discriminating care for resourceless old people who should not be asked to go to the present type of almshouse.

All working-class localities include a remnant of men and women who, because of low-grade mentality, constitutional restlessness, and lack of manual skill find it difficult if not impossible to hold steady work. The largest portion of this group is composed of widows whose skill of hand is so rudimentary that they must perforce labor at coarse kinds of housework. Certain among these are not physically strong enough to do such work. A few houses carry on formal employment bureaus and a number have maintained workshops for making and repairing clothing, where those who cannot produce enough to maintain themselves are yet able in some degree to be useful.

Infancy deprived of its proper measure of protection and support constituted one of the earliest challenges to settlements. Twenty-five years ago it seemed not difficult to reason that a mother who for any cause could not give proper care to her child should surrender it to others. The day nursery embodied a partial recognition of the irrefutable claim of mother upon child and of child upon mother; and on account of the element of human conservation in its plan, this agency began to take its place as part of the scheme of not a few settlements. Here it develops a certain distinctive quality. Children between three and seven years from nursery families are enlisted in play schools, after-school recreation of older brothers and sisters is supervised, and opportunities are found for assisting the mother under her double burden.²

¹ Nassau, Mabel L.: *Old Age Poverty in Greenwich Village*. New York, F. H. Revell Co., 1915.

² In case of sickness in families, or in crises where it seems desirable that children be removed from excitement or danger, the day nursery receives them. One or two settlements have tried the doubtful experiment of providing care for babies during short periods in which seasonal occupations engage mothers of the neighborhood. One settlement induced a responsible woman to open her home to children of such mothers. In 1920, 66 settlements carried on day nurseries as part of their work. Some,

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Experience not alone with nursery infants but with older boys and girls in these families gradually drove home to settlement visitors the fact that one parent cannot fulfil the functions of two. Children of wage-earning mothers absent all day from home, exhausted by hard labor, and pitiaibly recompensed were so evidently more than half orphaned, in terms of food, clothing, and maternal care, that it was questionable whether the full orphan had not a better chance. Out of this new realization settlements began to suggest that mothers without breadwinners should in some way be given support to carry on the supreme function of nurturing their children. Money was solicited to pay weekly allowances, the results of which demonstrated the inherent common sense and economy of this plan. The tendency in favor of public allowances to widows with children which began in 1911 and spread with great rapidity after 1913, received from the beginning the strong reinforcement of all representative settlement workers.¹

The distress which grew out of the panic of 1893 was in some respects incomprehensible enough to be accepted with that numbed and unthinking fatalism which is reserved for "visitations of God." No such attitude was possible toward unemployment, accident, sickness, and premature death which with ghastly regularity took toll year by year from the industrial rank and file. Various efforts were made to help maimed of limb, nervous wrecks whose reserves of vitality had been sapped by the forced pace of industry, middle-aged misfits patterned into a bodily and mental rigidity through years of overspecialized work, and those half-sick from fear that caprice of foreman or employer might deprive them of employment and destroy a long toiled for and barely achieved standard of living. Large numbers of neighbors were found carrying burdens greater than human nature should be called upon to bear. It was impossible to avoid the conclusion that poverty was being manufactured before one's eyes.

The injustice of asking working people to sustain the full physical and economic cost of industrial accident sharply outlined itself.

however, have surrendered this service to special agencies or look after children in other ways.

¹ Under the leadership of William Hard, formerly head of Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago.

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Here and there residents joined hands with trade unionists and public-spirited citizens in varied efforts to reduce such risks and to secure adequate and immediate money recompense. Graham Taylor served on two Illinois commissions, one of which secured a law requiring the installation of protective devices on dangerous machinery, and the other a statute enforcing more careful working procedure in mines. It was not, however, until 1910 that the first legislative commissions on compensation were appointed, though in 1911 ten states passed compensation laws. The principle of assessing the burden of cost jointly upon employer, workman, and consumer is now established, and constitutes one of the soundest and most significant precedents in the progress of democracy.¹

The process by which workmen's compensation laws were secured is almost as suggestive as the result. For the first time a piece of radical industrial legislation was projected and agreed to in advance by employers, trade union leaders, and representatives of the general public. This method settlements had prefigured. The attitude and atmosphere which they had created were an influence toward making such relations possible; many who throughout the country strove most earnestly toward mutual agreement in framing the several bills had been in close relations with settlements.

Expansion of the principle of workmen's compensation to include industrial diseases found clear and early advocacy among certain residents who combined technical knowledge with human perspective. Mrs. Kelley, in her capacity of factory inspector in Illinois had secured the examination by physicians of 135 children under fourteen years working in factories. The findings showed appalling physical ravages. Later, Dr. Alice Hamilton and Dr. Caroline Hedger studied the effects of tenement house industry on the health of working mothers and made plain its excessive cost in terms of the strength of children yet unborn, on family standards and on home life. Of recent years Dr. Hamilton has given careful and continuous attention, under the auspices of state and national departments, to the study of industries in which

¹ Eastman, Crystal: *Work-Accidents and the Law*. New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1910.

American Labor Legislation Review, Vol. I, No. 2; Vol. I, No. 4, 1911.

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poisoning occurs; she is now a recognized authority on its forms and its control.¹

Long-continued experience with unemployment during economic and other crises, and with that more regular sort which is none the less trying, showed that the worst evil which grows out of enforced idleness is the breaking down of habits of work and of the instinct for economic self-sufficiency. The degradation of poverty, however temporary, affects moral vitality so deeply that recovery is often difficult. It is a decided source of safety at such times that households should continue to be in touch with friends, trade unions, and neighbors, and be upheld by sympathetic understanding and assistance.

Each new crisis, however, leads settlements to make new demands for state commissions and for some comprehensive plan by which to anticipate such calamities.² Appointment of public investigating bodies, and the rapid increase of state employment bureaus, have been influential in arousing public opinion and educating it to the point of determined attack upon the problem. In several states voluntary committees are working to secure comprehensive records of unemployment and the passage of laws which will compel employers and employes alike to insure against this devastating evil.³

While in the large, the effort of settlements to meet the problems connected with unemployment has been scattering, it clearly expressed their characteristic and well-nigh universal attitude. They have from the beginning shared the opinion expressed by Professor Alfred Marshall, constant visitor at Toynbee Hall, in his great work on the Principles of Economics,⁴ that poverty is unnecessary and

¹ Since 1919, Professor of Industrial Medicine at Harvard Medical School.

² Several types of effort have been made to meet unemployment as found under normal industrial conditions. A few settlements have endeavored to place people on the land, without any degree of success. Many carry on informal employment service to provide day's work for women. On the whole, workers using philanthropic bureaus are unskilled and incapable, or in need of special tasks difficult to secure. They can be best helped through the aid of an interested person or through what may yet come—the organization of a combined agency and workroom which will study each applicant and develop a general method of assistance.

³ This whole subject has of late years been developed under the lead of the American Association for Labor Legislation with its various state branches.

⁴ Marshall, Alfred: Principles of Economics. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1890.

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should be abolished. The possibility of this consummation lies partly in eliminating the mentally and morally unfit; partly in underwriting, by all concerned or by the state, unavoidable risks; partly in readjusting the distribution of national income through well-considered voluntary and public forms of action. But before, during, and after such efforts is it necessary to develop among working people the full measure of their capacity as producers. Through the attention given by settlements to these too easily neglected cardinal points, they are making their distinctive contribution toward a better economic order.

CHAPTER XIX

STANDARDS OF WELL-BEING

THE protection and enhancement of working-class standards of living call for exact and minute knowledge of contemporary facts. Early residents, in the words of one of their number, sought to find out "what homes the people have, their sanitary condition, their privacy, their comfortableness, their adornment; what food and drink the people have; what clothes they wear; what work they do, and all the questionable conditions that surround the labor of men and women in these days; what wages they receive and how well or ill they spend their money; what knowledge they are receiving; what amusements they have; all the little amenities of their lives; their unselfishness; their loves, their hates, their sins, their crimes, their hopes."¹

The approach in the field of economic upbuilding is made in nearly every instance through very elementary plans for encouragement of savings. Residents noted at once, as compared with their own conditions, the difficulty which all tenement dwellers had in saving enough money to buy goods in any quantity. Where a family might spend without extravagance its entire income on food and lodging, and where clothing and recreation are likely to be at the cost of nutrition, the withholding even of a small margin demands a high degree of forbearance and skill.

Stamp saving is generally popular with children, and depositors often include the largest single company of boys and girls in contact with the settlement.² The training given makes for care,

¹ Woods, R. A.: "University Settlement Idea." *Andover Review*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 517-39, October, 1892.

² This is a plan whereby deposits in sums from one cent and upward are receipted for in stamps pasted on a card. Deposits may be withdrawn on one week's notice. One or two houses carry on private banks of their own, which receive not only small deposits but larger sums on which interest is paid. Such a bank attracts the older young people and at the larger settlements some adults. One settlement brought about the establishment of a savings bank for its locality.

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accuracy, and judgment in handling money, and the banker has occasional opportunity to teach thrift and to reinforce the home. In a number of instances settlement stamp-saving stations have been taken over by public schools. Among adults the habit of putting aside money is best promoted by methods analogous to those of industrial insurance companies. Home-savings visitors make weekly calls on a group of families living close to one another. Though what is accumulated by depositors under this method hardly ever becomes a true savings account, the collector is often able to induce housewives to relate separate expenditures to the demands of living as a whole and to co-ordinate income and outgo.¹

For the purpose of accumulating a surplus, either through savings or insurance, the various available systems calling for payments by clients at short intervals may be considered generally satisfactory. The reverse process in form of deferred payments for goods already in hand, has had a copious history of abuse and injustice. Early residents found instalment companies resorting to many kinds of double dealing for the purpose of inducing people to purchase tawdry furniture, clothing, and jewelry at prices greatly beyond their value. Pawnbrokers and loan sharks plied their victims. Undertakers took advantage of the inexperience, grief, and pride of their clients. Investigations were made and publicity given to numerous instances of outrageous fraud, and these efforts had an important influence in bringing about new legal regulations designed to protect the rights of purchasers.²

The insanitary conditions of grocery stores in many localities, the high cost of foodstuffs and of coal and wood sold in small quantities, have been and remain a constant challenge to settlements. These considerations, together with the prevalence of poorly prepared and low-grade food in tenement households, led residents of Hull House in 1893 to establish a public kitchen and lunch room designed to supply attractive and nutritious meals at

¹ Coal and grocery clubs are organized at some settlements. Money is saved through the stamp system. The risk is underwritten and the labor of management is contributed by a few interested people. The beneficiaries have no part in the management.

² The Department of Remedial Loans of the Russell Sage Foundation, organized in 1910, has been engaged in exposing and helping to prosecute fraud, drafting new statutes, and fostering the establishment of lending societies.

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low rates. They hoped that women carrying on industrial work at home and factory operatives would take advantage of the service. The lunch room, however, was soon pre-empted by office employes, teachers, social workers, and other salaried people. Settlements elsewhere have tried the same plan, but have not been able to justify it. The one undeniably appropriate form of such work is the special lunch room for young working women, although even here only infrequently can cost of food, preparation, service, and rent be covered.¹

The upshot of such experiment and effort carried on during two decades is the turning of attention from particular cases of fraud or extortion to public supervision and control of all distributive services closely affecting public health. The cost of staples has been studied systematically, and in several instances some degree of public regulation secured. Stores in which food is exposed and sold, especially bakeries, butcher shops, and groceries, have been examined by voluntary inspectors and specially bad conditions reported to health departments. An important educational result of such efforts is the increased vigilance of tenement women. Market men and shopkeepers are themselves beginning to meet local demands for greater care and cleanliness.

These various undertakings, reinforced by ever-increasing direct relations with working-class homes, revealed certain chief causes that hinder more general development of sound family life. A considerable percentage of deserving families was found to be receiving income insufficient to maintain physical health and vigor. Residents set out, therefore, to disclose the effects of low wages on family and home.

In a rough way, establishment of early settlements coincided with the influx of Russian Jews during the eighties, which resulted the following decade in phenomenal development and centralization of the ready-made tailoring trade. It is one of life's ironies that the production of clothing, from spinning of the thread to its display on a manikin, should be attended by a greater degree of suffering and degradation than that of almost any other industrial process. Jews, with their high individualism, so subdivided proc-

¹ Note VIII.—Settlement Milk Depots, Laundries, and

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esses of the trade that a whole series of immigrant middlemen manufacturers were created, each of which squeezed the unfortunate victim just below him, even as he was squeezed from above, to the limit of endurance. A pioneer attempt to define through careful and discerning methods the actual way of life of a considerable group of wage-earners, was authorized by the newly established College Settlements Association.¹ The study whose object was to learn whether it was possible for the garment trade to defray the average expense of living, was published under the title, *Receipts and Expenditures of Wage-Earners in the Garment Trades*.

At many houses budget studies, based on data provided by careful neighbors, were compiled. Gradually, also, through confidence imparted quite naturally to stamp-savings visitors, comparison of wage scales with cost of commodities in local stores, and actual dietaries, a good deal of exact information about standards of living was accumulated. Neighborhood houses were regarded as headquarters for such information, and though few of these studies were published by them directly, the results have in a number of instances been embodied in state, national, and foreign documents.²

The first exhaustive effort to ascertain the actual standard of life in a working-class city community, however, was undertaken from Greenwich House. Between 1903 and 1905, Mrs. Louise Bolard More, with the assistance of families living in the neighborhood, collected data covering 200 households.³ The results showed that in 1906 an income of \$600 a year, or less, which a number of author-

¹ Eaton, Isabel: *College Settlements Association Report, 1893-1894*, p. 10.

² The following are typical: *Food Stores and Purchases in the Tenth Ward*, pp. 15-19. University Settlement (New York), Report, 1898. Palmer, Gertrude: *Earnings, Spendings and Savings of School Children*, pp. 1-16. *Commons*, June, 1903. Herzfeld, Elsa G.: *Family Monographs*, p. 150. New York, The Jane Kempter Printing Co., 1905. Report of the Massachusetts State Commission on the Cost of Living, Appendix B, May, 1910. *Cost of Living in American Towns*. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911.

³ More, L. B.: *Wage-Earners' Budgets, A Study of Standards and Costs of Living in New York City*; with a preface by F. H. Giddings. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1907. The results, in the words of Professor Giddings' introduction . . . "have been obtained by methods more thorough, painstaking and critical than it has usually been possible hitherto to use. Of the figures set down in Mrs. More's tables, it can be said that every one stands for something not only certainly known, but also critically scrutinized and weighed before being added to the general sum of information." Mrs. More's conclusions were confirmed in 1909 by Robert C. Chapin's *Standards of Living Among Workingmen's Families in New York City*. New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909.

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ities had stated to be sufficient to maintain a family of five in New York City, was entirely inadequate, and that on this sum adults and children were undernourished, underclothed, and meanly housed. Eight hundred dollars a year appeared to be the barest sum on which family life could reach the level of a cheerless modicum.

The importance which settlement workers attach to authoritative estimates of costs of living is based on the fact that an essential part of the campaign for better wages is the affirmation in season and out of a really American standard of life. It is indisputable that the last increments of a laborer's pay are measurably influenced by the national standard of life and the communal sense of justice and brotherliness. The majority of Americans will not knowingly profit from the pain or disability of any individual or class. The nation understands that quality of child life, success of a costly system of public schools, and efficiency of its producers depend on a satisfactory home and family experience.

Settlements go a long way with those who believe that city, state, and nation can enjoy such standards of welfare as they are ready to pay for. Certainly many ardently desired changes in living conditions wait on increased productivity of the industrial community in reciprocal relation with more equitable distribution of national income. But residents realize with increasing clearness that while income is an indispensable requisite it is not more practically important than use of income. The tenements show the contrast found in every walk of life; families with identical incomes and identical rooms living under conditions which seem a century and a whole economic stratum apart. Certain housewives spend money carefully and serviceably; others incapably and wastefully. Some have been brought up in homes where there is a fine hereditary standard of housekeeping. Others, and in large cities they form an increasing proportion, have been turned into factories during the years when they would naturally learn most about this primary vocation of women, and have graduated into marriage at best ignorant, and at worst disinclined and rebellious, in their attitude toward household tasks.

On the side of home-making, equally with wage-earning, settlements strive for the American standard of life. Concretely, that

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standard requires meat in the diet, clothing in accord with the use of one's group and of a sort to make one generally presentable, the education of children until the fourteenth or sixteenth year, and definite provision for recreation; all these with a substantial measure of accomplishment in morals and manners, cleanliness and wholesome living, skill in preparation and service of food, educational inclinations.¹ With such a measuring rod, settlements set off two particular groups, not mutually exclusive, whose ways of life fall below this minimum.

The first includes a large number of immigrant families. There is real necessity for sharp reaction against foreigners who send substantial sums to Europe, or hoard their earnings for the purpose of buying real estate here in despite of the bodies, minds, and morals of the nation's future citizens. The second group is made up of families which, through sickness, lack of personal hygiene, unskilled and wasteful purchase and preparation of food, unintelligent care of newborn infants, careless training of children, gravitate into a kind of existence which is very little above abject poverty.

Home-making in settlement terms connotes not only cookery, but the finer sentiments of honesty, mutual consideration, neighborliness sustained by religious loyalty, all determining forces in the creation of good and capable men and women. Experience with children in and out of their homes showed beyond peradventure that faithfulness, sense of responsibility, instinct to hold through discouragement, the knack of keeping on responsive terms with others, knowledge of when and how to lead and to be led, are gained largely as the home maintains right reciprocal relations not only within itself but with its surrounding community. Long experience demonstrates that when the desire arises to entertain guests, to learn to play upon a musical instrument, to establish children in a gentler atmosphere, a potent force for welding together the family circle comes into action. The experience of generations of American families who have climbed to higher things by means of plush furniture and parlor organs is ample justification for enthusiasm in assisting working-class families to obtain the means of civilization, one after another, as they are ready to use them.

The full motive power of the settlement is therefore directed to-

¹ For a more detailed discussion see p. 327ff.

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ward creation of those habits and manners that will enable the family to meet its higher responsibilities for nurture and education. There is, indeed, a sense in which the most important contribution of settlements in establishing the American standard is their insistence on taking account, not only of purchasing power of money income and the skill and idealism with which housewives direct its expenditure, but of the part played by extra-family relationships in the fortunes of households. The establishment of a physical environment, local cultural traditions, associations and institutions fitted to protect and nurture family life, depends profoundly on the presence of a stable and forceful nucleus of capable families. The enlistment and training of such a group of men, women, and children represent the persistent practical endeavor of settlements.

Accumulation of knowledge about the more complex elements which make a standard of living in its entirety was naturally a matter of years. During the first decade of settlement experience hundreds of detached studies of various isolated phases of working-class life were made at different houses. As early as 1892 South End House began to publish its inquiries into questions of education, unemployment, recreation, morals, political life. In 1894 an effort was made by it to see the life of a tiny corner of the South End so far as possible in its entirety, leading to the first exhaustive presentment in America of tenement life in a limited area. Though the facts were purposely thrown into narrative form, they were based on data gleaned with painstaking scientific accuracy.¹ In 1895 residents of Hull House published the results of several years' study of the locality immediately about them.² University Settlement in New York during these years carried on a long series of topical investigations of unusual quality and significance.³

¹ Sanborn, A. F.: *The Anatomy of a Tenement Street*, *Forum*, Vol. XVIII, p. 554, January, 1895. Moody's *Lodging House, and other Sketches*, pp. 97-148. Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., 1895.

² Hull House Maps and Papers. The basis of this presentment consisted of information collected for the United States Department of Labor during the spring of 1893, in the course of a special investigation of which Mrs. Kelley, then a resident at Hull House, served as director in charge for Chicago. See also *The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia*. Seventh Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1894.

³ Annual Report of the society for 1896 gave the results of a medical and sanitary inquiry; that of the next year contained An Investigation of Dispossessed Tenants.

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The first effort to correlate all available facts and to discover laws governing the total organization and behavior of a tenement community was undertaken soon after at South End House. The conclusion that "People here are from birth at the mercy of great social forces which move almost like the march of destiny" was balanced by indisputable evidence that health, comfort, and morals in the city's more comfortable sections are acutely threatened by evils bred under tenement conditions.¹ A clear call for a more exhaustive treatment of civic needs in all congested localities was sounded and a program of neighborhood rehabilitation outlined.

The vast body of more or less organized information accumulated and the compulsion of facts gathered during these decades show the need of three equally important types of effort. The first involves adjustment of real wages to the needs of individuals and families. An important factor in securing this result is to make clear the actual way of living within reach of working people. Wherever possible, therefore, residents of settlements have induced trade unions, lodges, and other organizations to compile and interpret the detailed, meaningful facts. Among families below trade union stratum, it is obvious that an outside agency is needed both to initiate and organize such disclosure.

A second type of effort takes the form of supplementing hygienic and recreational resources. The third and farthest reaching motive calls for purposeful, logical, and democratic evolution of industry and politics. An indispensable prerequisite is multiplication of opportunities for the discipline of association and constructive fellowship.

In 1899 papers were published on Bowery Amusements; Social Life in the Street; Backyard Gardening; A New Social Center; East Side Benefit Societies; The Social Side of Synagogue Life; The Candy Store as a Social Influence; The Saloons of the District; and Public Halls of the East Side. The report for 1900 gives accounts of the East Side Courts, Influences of Street Life, Relation of Children to Immoral Conditions, and Tenement Bakeries. These papers, continued through the following decade, constitute a highly significant body of material on the East Side which should be rescued from the oblivion into which their manner of publication has condemned them.

¹ The City Wilderness (1898). A similar study of other sections of Boston appeared in 1902 under the title, Americans in Process. Both were edited by R. A. Woods, and published by Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

CHAPTER XX THE CO-OPERATIVE MAN

AS NEIGHBOUR in the working-class, settlements have directed a good share of their efforts toward helping to make the economic horizon of wage-earners, particularly in less advanced grades, more secure. But their purpose goes deeper and reaches farther. They encourage a type of experiment and everywhere diligently promote a kind of educational process designed to meet the demands and opportunities of a better industrial order. Those who laid out the original lines of settlement policy were definitely affected by the Fabian principle of applying democratic methods by successive experiments to industry. This general point of view, which at the time seemed distant and theoretical if not dangerous, has since come to be shared by many responsible leaders in business. Certain early residents contemplated a condition of things in which the organization of labor would become a structural part of the organization of industry. This meant, of course, that trade unions, instead of being chiefly militant bodies, should be expected to undertake definite responsibility for the efficiency and morale of their members. The settlement attitude was based partly upon evidence that in many industries the making and fulfillment of labor bargains were more satisfactorily carried out where a union existed. It rested even more largely upon an optimistic confidence in workingmen.

All working people were looked upon as potential trade unionists by early residents. But their participation during the nineties in efforts to induce men and women to affiliate with appropriate locals bore so little fruit that many of them were inclined to acquiesce in the judgment of older trade unionists that at least half the working class were without capacity to hold effectively together. Among important results of the first ten years' experience with problems growing out of the relations of men, women, and children to industry was a conviction that trade organization is an achievement de-

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manding certain developed qualities of mind and character and, in particular, the complex capacity for joint action which certainly has not yet been attained by large numbers of people among whom the settlement is placed.

It has always been a clear implication of settlement motive and experience that the management of industry should devote a much more substantial part of its intelligence and initiative to the human factor in production. During the eighties and nineties a number of employers sought to adapt the ideas of Owen, LePlay, LeClaire, and others to American conditions. This tendency was embarrassed by a lively hope that welfare work might prove in some measure a substitute for trade unionism. The strike of 1894 at Pullman exposed in concrete terms what settlement workers had come to understand from trade union and other sources, that a common front established by laborers toward the fundamental issue of more equitable distribution of income and more of democracy in industrial organization must not be jeopardized by a mere bonus in the shape of better working conditions. This truth has been continually set forth by settlements.

Nevertheless, experienced residents were unwilling that the essential motive of welfare work should be lost. A number of experiments such as lunch rooms, rest rooms, baths, club houses, benefit societies, begun by employers out of a mixture of enlightened self-interest and disinterested goodwill, have demonstrated their applicability to all industries and should be made part of the established machinery of production.

Welfare work, for obvious reasons, is more characteristic of large industries placed in villages or suburbs than of smaller plants, one among many others, located in industrial neighborhoods of metropolitan cities. The interest of large employers moves easily from factories into homes and envioning communities. Many city employers, if placed in small communities, would conduct as a phase of industrial growth and progress a number of the services, including training in associated action, carried on by settlements.

The city district, with a population made up partly of persons working in great downtown commercial establishments, partly of operatives connected with industries in other sections of the city, and partly of those employed in local industries, suffers from loss

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of that informed and discerning helpfulness which awakened employers give to local civic, and recreational life. The settlement performs services which have a distinct bearing on the welfare of every industry, large or small, wherever situated, whose operatives reside in the district. An increasing body of employers recognize the importance of such assistance and give support on that basis. Residents here and there assist local managers with some of their problems of personnel.

Aside from employe and employer, there is a third party to the industrial situation, the consumer. Realization of the responsibility of the purchasers for conditions under which commodities are made and sold has been slowly growing since Kingsley and Ruskin uttered their prophecies. Early in 1890 a Consumers' League was organized in London as an instrument through which, by systematic control of buying power, a body of people might exercise concrete influence upon conditions of manufacture and commerce. Pioneer American residents recognized in this device a most important application of ingenuity and invention in the field of ethical progress, and helped establish a Consumers' League¹ in this country. Settlement representatives have continued to be closely connected with several of its regional branches, and Mrs. Kelley for more than two decades has as national secretary directed the league with a rare degree of mental and moral acumen.

Meanwhile, hopes were entertained in another direction. Consumers' co-operation was looked to by pioneer residents as the natural means of increasing purchasing power, quite as trade unionism was considered the obvious method of defending and advancing the wage scale.² The custom, quite general in the beginning, of organ-

¹ The league declared its belief: "That the responsibility for some of the worst evils from which wage-earners suffer rests with the consumers who persist in buying in the cheapest market. That it is the duty of consumers to find out under what conditions the articles they purchase are produced, and to insist that these conditions shall be at least decent and consistent with a respectable existence on the part of the workers."—From an early undated leaflet.

² The decade of the eighties in the United States was characterized by a wave of interest in consumers' co-operation. Books and monographs on co-operative experiments and practice both at home and abroad were published; co-operative stores were established in several colleges; and a national society of co-operators was projected. Residents who had visited Toynbee Hall were enthusiastic about co-operative stores—"the most remarkable visible achievement of English workingmen."—Woods, R. A.: *English Social Movements*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons,

izing the settlement household as a group of co-operators, educational in itself, established a field of common experience between residents and neighbors. The practice whereby members of the settlement family took turns as buyers of provisions, and determination to patronize as far as possible local business men, led to a careful scrutiny of selling methods in neighboring stores.

The great disparity between cost of coal by the hod and ton, in conjunction with the widespread suffering during the severe winter of 1888, caused Neighborhood Guild, as already noted, to organize a co-operative coal society. Residents found their effort baffled, on the one hand, by outspoken antagonism of local shopkeepers, and on the other by that sense of live and let live which is so fine a characteristic of working people. The scheme had to be abandoned. Two years later, however, residents at Hull House, with the assistance of a neighbor who had belonged to an English co-operative society, established a Co-operative Coal Association, which carried on a very considerable business during three years. The venture failed gloriously through an attempt by a portion of the membership to extend a helping hand to neighbors in shape of a cheap bushel trade.¹

The sale of vegetables and dairy products equally with coal appealed to residents as a sound field for joint effort. The first such store was opened in New York in 1893 by University and College Settlements. Stock was offered to patrons at a dollar a share. But people refused to respond, and the store failed with the hard times of 1894. Two chief causes were responsible for the ill-success of these ventures: one, that people did not know how to work together; the other, economic unproductiveness. Prices of goods sold were not lower than those of neighborhood shops. At Prospect Union, Cambridge, to whose classes a group of exceptionally capable workingmen had become loyally attached, a project of this sort met with more success. Here for years a co-operative store, and for a shorter time a co-operative press, flourished.

The chief type of co-operative enterprise carried on by settle-

1891. Stanton Coit outlined a series of co-operative enterprises in his monograph on *Neighbourhood Guilds*, p. 29. London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1892.

¹ During the nineties a number of other settlements carried on similar associations for short periods.

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ments over a long period of years is the boarding club. The first was undertaken in May, 1891, by a group of Chicago factory girls on strike, residents of Hull House agreeing to provide furniture and to become responsible for a month's rent. From the beginning the club, under general protection of Hull House, has been self-governing and self-supporting. Officers are selected by members from their own number, and costs of rent, food, service, and incidentals paid out of dues.

A most ambitious settlement undertaking, organized in 1896 by directors and residents of East Side House, New York, is a Co-operative House Owners' Society, which purchased a tenement with money subscribed partly by members of the men's club and partly with funds lent by friends. Preference in letting apartments goes to stockholders, and tenements are always occupied. Six per cent above taxes, repairs, and a small sinking fund has been earned since 1905.

For almost two decades co-operative distribution in settlements hibernated. The rapid rise in price of foods which began shortly after 1905, and the fact that older houses were on friendly terms with their better-to-do neighbors, furnished favorable soil for a fresh planting. Groups of householders began to unite for purchase of groceries, fruits, and vegetables, and in some instances cotton cloth. Here and there a settlement acted as headquarters for building and loan associations.

The failure ere long of nearly all such attempts did not destroy settlement faith in co-operation, but it forced the conviction that a long-continued program of preparation was necessary; that a higher form of industrial society can be achieved only after a profound process of development.

A quarter century ago certain students stated that the success of co-operation waits appearance of "the co-operative man." Settlements half unconsciously and yet with fixed purpose during three decades have been developing this new creature. Three simple but downright lines of effort have been carved out, the larger implications of which have been followed unswervingly. The first had to do with rather elementary and casual moves toward launching growing boys and girls on worthy industrial careers. The second involved simple forms of training that would make those subject

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to such discipline more desirable candidates for certain broad classes of positions. The third was directed to training children in the practice of association, that they might be capable of effective and responsible united action as members of highly organized producing corps.

Residents and club leaders, as we have seen, guided the thoughts of children toward future life work, recommended books descriptive of trades and occupations, sought to discover specific vocational leanings in their charges, and found jobs for them. Settlement houses gradually came to be depended upon as informal employment agencies. Experience with the life and adventures of members of clubs and classes, and intimate knowledge which came through efforts to help juvenile delinquents, made it increasingly plain that many bright children fall into evil because they do not secure work of a kind that calls upon their preferences and powers.

The most serious practical danger which besets unadvised children is the frequency with which they stray into blind-alley occupations, such as selling papers, blacking boots, delivering messages, or feeding machines. The child's sense of the futility of his tasks makes him restless and dissatisfied and leads to frequent changes of position. Each change, however, finds him worse off than the last, and he arrives at his majority less valuable to himself than on the day he left school. The future holds promise of nothing but casual and low-grade forms of employment and a short working career.

The destructive results on body, mind, and character which follow upon too early employment demonstrated the importance of establishing a proper range and kind of habit during years in which the decisive outlines of life and character are being laid. In 1895 Mrs. Kelley, in an article in Hull House Maps and Papers, joined the issue. "The key to the child-labor question," she wrote, "is the enforcement of school attendance to the age of sixteen. . . . The legislation needed is of the simplest but most comprehensive description. We need to have: (1) the minimum age for work fixed at sixteen; (2) school attendance made compulsory to the same age; (3) factory inspectors and truant officers . . . ; (4) ample provision for school accommodations; money supplied by the state through the school authorities for the support of such orphans, half orphans, and children of the unemployed as are now

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kept out of school by destitution. . . . Where they are, wage-earning children are an unmitigated injury to themselves, to the community upon which they will later be burdens, and to the trade which they demoralize. They learn nothing valuable. . . ."¹

It came as a marked confirmation of humanitarian feeling that the industries which offer opportunity for advancement do not find it profitable to employ children under sixteen. The better-paid occupations in manufacture and commerce, like the professions, call for a constantly advancing degree of intelligence and skill and are less willing to bear costs of apprenticeship. Yet, in the face of this situation, public schools each year were sending out thousands of children with no specific training for work they were to undertake. Residents called the period between the close of compulsory education and the stage when responsible employers would take on recruits "the two wasted years." The clear logic of the situation demanded that this time should be devoted by the public school system to practical training for the work of life. Their experiments in teaching handwork brought residents gradually into personal acquaintanceship with a substantial number of parents and of employers who were ready to welcome education specifically directed toward preparation for wage-earning. With many a qualm for the American tradition that every citizen should be trained to be a sovereign, they joined hands with a small but growing body of forward-looking men and women in manufacturing states who were seeking to make training of hand and eye an indispensable element in the upbringing of a more capable future labor force.

The manual training movement in the United States came into being shortly after the Civil War, and for thirty years represented our most advanced educational philosophy. The Industrial Education Association, formed in 1886 in New York City, conducted free classes for boys and girls who wanted such instruction.² About this time a few trade schools were established on foundations provided by public-spirited business men who appreciated the nation's need for skilled craftsmen, and whose attention had been turned to the difficulties met by bright children in securing all-round training

¹ See pp. 75-76.

² The term "industrial education" refers to subjects taught for the purpose of preparing boys and girls who have passed beyond the elementary school to be workers in the trades and industries.

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for a trade. But the classes in handwork which settlements carried on during the nineties were highly important experiment stations by which to bridge the gap between education and industry in the case of that nine-tenths of the nation's childhood which pass directly from grammar schools into industry. Early in the new century groups of educated women, with a background of settlement or similar experience, began to move for the establishment under private auspices of trade schools for girls. At several houses, as such facilities became available, industrial scholarships were provided for promising children whose parents could not afford to keep them in school.

Settlements thus came into a body of practical experience and information which made imperative a broad appeal to cities, states, and nation for the creation of a sound and comprehensive scheme of industrial preparation. Opposition in the beginning was serious and widespread. Low-grade employers who depended on a supply of cheap labor, easily changed, saw in such education a sort of public luxury. Trade unions feared that boys would be trained and employed as strike-breakers, or that increase in the supply of journeymen would only intensify competition and lower the achieved scale of wages. Public school administrators were almost universally indifferent, if not actually hostile, to further introduction of handwork into the curriculum.

Sentiment in favor of a program of industrial education crystallized rapidly, however, once it received open consideration. Leading employers of labor appreciated the desirability of a more skilled labor supply; especially those on the eastern seaboard, who saw industries requiring large amounts of heavy raw material gravitating toward the source of such materials and realized that the industrial future of their region depended on the building up of more refined forms of manufacture calling for highly skilled workmen.

It took only a short time to convert trade union leaders. This process began with a succession of conferences in which enlightened employers, far-seeing labor men, and persons representing more or less closely settlement approach came quickly to common ground. A long series of similar group meetings followed, reaching out in wider and wider circles. When it became clear to responsible trade unionists that industrial education did not undertake to fit out

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full-fledged journeymen, and as a public undertaking must be subject to a good measure of working-class control, the way toward approval of trade unions was open. There was at this point, as there had been in connection with the campaign for workingmen's compensation, a highly gratifying realization of hopes in the direction of actual joint effort in the interest of industry as a whole, by capital and labor. The part which settlement representatives were privileged to have in securing this result is a most reassuring justification of their motive.

The educational profession gradually saw that for the vast majority of children its members were as makers of edge tools who never gave the edge; and that there was a large unoccupied territory within which education might gain new reality and power. Teachers began to appreciate the possibility of some such special cultural influences in vocational training as the settlement for its part had been discovering in its clubs and classes.

The first effort to give effect to the new program had its trial in Massachusetts. A Commission on Industrial Education was created by the legislature of 1905, after half a decade of quiet propaganda, to "inquire into the advisability of establishing industrial schools."¹ In 1906 a permanent commission with power to establish and foster schools for industrial education was created of which Mr. Woods, who had been chairman of the committee to promote this legislation, served as temporary secretary during the period of organization and development. For three months he gave addresses through the state, consulted with employers, workingmen, and educators, and gathered information from all sources in preparation for detailed work of building up a state system of educational training which was soon under way. Meanwhile, New York settlements conducted a conference which brought together public school administrators, and in Chicago Miss Addams, at that time member of the school board, earnestly promoted the cause in that city. These efforts were an integral part of the movement that led to the widespread introduction of public trade schools.

¹ The report announced that: "For the great majority of children who leave school to enter employment at the age of fourteen or fifteen, the first three or four years are practically waste years so far as the actual productive value of the child is concerned, and so far as increasing his industrial and productive efficiency." Senate Document No. 349, April, 1906, p. 196.

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Since 1910, effort to save the years between fourteen and sixteen is being reinforced in its gradual fulfilment through completion of child labor laws. The Massachusetts statute of 1913, by limiting the number of hours during which children under sixteen may work, prohibiting their employment altogether in a considerable list of occupations, insisting upon proof of age and sound health before issuing working papers, and enforcing the regulation that unemployed boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen must be in school, makes the exploitation of youth increasingly difficult and unprofitable. Conversely, child labor reformers are devoting increased attention to the provision of suitable educational opportunity for young people excluded from employment. In states where the full complementary system of child protection with industrial education is being built up, public authority has finally recognized the principle of responsibility which settlements have all along been expressing in their neighborhoods.

Hudson Guild has instituted a form of joint action between labor, capital, and community which settlement residents in dreams had long forecasted. The School for Printers' Apprentices of New York, opened in 1911 and for ten years carried on in the Guild, is managed and supported by accredited representatives of unions, employers, and educators.¹ This union of forces to grade up the caliber of future operatives, supervise the range and quality of technical preparation, and inculcate sound ideals of collective action represents an important object lesson in seasoned and responsible industrial democracy.

While these efforts to discover ways of preparing children for more truly productive wage-earning were developing, the problem of finding reasonably promising jobs for each fresh crop of public school graduates remained. It was obvious that working-class parents lacked the breadth of view, connections, and experience through which more favored classes directed the careers of their children. The seriousness of this situation lay partly in the

¹ Registered apprentices are required by the unions to attend classes during four years of their novitiate, and employers grant the necessary time out of working hours. The school provides instruction not only in mechanics of typography and design, but in use of the English language, history of printing, economic problems of the trade, principles of unionism, and science of co-operation. Periodic examinations are given to test the accomplishment of the students and to determine their chances of succeeding in the trade.

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fact that freedom of industrial opportunity, which is so close to the heart of all that is American, was being undermined. The principle that children are by no means bound to follow their father's occupation, nor to remain within the economic grade in which they were born, was in some localities becoming an empty word. Actual facts showed that in many neighborhoods the vocation of children was determined by nearby factories, and their future fixed as fatally as if they had been born into a rigid system of caste.

Settlements undertook to push quite beyond the informal efforts of the first decade toward finding jobs for occasional boys and girls, by devising a system to launch a considerable number of children. During a period of several years, in anticipation of future wage-earning, club leaders traced the bent of children's minds. Courses of lectures by business men and educators were offered, and in some houses definite employment bureaus were established, though it soon became evident that the mere organization of an agency for securing employment lessened rather than increased the urgency felt by residents and volunteers, and did not secure enough additional positions to justify the financial outlay demanded for its maintenance.¹

Something decidedly more fundamental was called for, and this came through an experiment outlined and developed in the beginning by Professor Frank Parsons, of Boston University, at Civic Service House, a settlement working with young men and women either themselves recent immigrants or brought up in immigrant homes. Each applicant was provided with a questionnaire devised to reveal his character, desires, and capacities both to himself and to his examiner; this was followed by simple psychological tests covering the rapidity and accuracy of selected physical and mental reactions. On the basis of questionnaire, test, and interview, young people were directed to fields of occupation wherein their combination of powers and limitations seemed to indicate a real opportunity. Lectures were offered outlining the processes and the chances of success in different professions and trades, and the industrial and community was studied to discover its capacity to provide

¹ It was one that had sufficient importance to be turned over to some it thus lost its neighborhood character.

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appropriate opportunities in definite occupations. Through forces thus set in motion, organization of public school vocational guidance in the United States had its beginning,¹ and the way was prepared for a really comprehensive effort to take account of the full human possibilities of the city's industry, on the one hand, and on the other to utilize in some ample measure the inborn ability that is in its young life.

Time has shown that the larger opportunity of vocation bureaus is not among children from grammar grades for whom it was designed, but among those able to attend secondary or, at least, continuation schools. From the point of view of public welfare this is as it should be. The argument for universal vocational training has been greatly strengthened by this development; though for the moment the case of boys and girls in settlement neighborhoods often becomes even harder than before. This fact only means, however, that residents must return with renewed purpose to the consideration of industrial careers among children who go to work as soon as the law allows.

Adequate training and launching of industrial recruits, settlement workers believe, should include discipline in the art of democratic association. They have endeavored so far as their direct responsibility is concerned to see that increasingly well-devised training is provided to meet this precise demand, and that trade schools include carefully planned instruction in the method and spirit of team play.

Here settlements fall back upon the entire scheme of club work, with its strong emphasis upon self-government and collective responsibility for securing results. Detailed, specific drill and discipline in working together, with constant and varied emphasis on motives which govern co-operative effort, are the core of a coming phase of education. The type of personal initiative and leadership developed in this atmosphere, when qualified with the sense for results that trade schools give, produces persons who soundly fill out their part in trade organization and in a more developed system for the organization of industry as a whole.

This general point of view has led to a marked development of in-

¹ Meyer Bloomfield, under whose direction Professor Parsons' first experiments were carried on at Civic Service House, became a leader in the promotion of vocational guidance.

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terest at many houses during recent years in the new field of employment management. Settlements furnish a kind of fundamental experience out of which some of their residents are finding a natural and almost inevitable way into those forms of industrial administration that rely upon collective response of employes to build an ensemble which will have a new sense of reciprocity throughout, create a larger product, and share it on a better understood and more equitable basis. Residents sympathize greatly with those who, in the administration of industries and mercantile establishments, are striving first to regularize employment, and secondly, to organize group loyalty and initiative among employed personnel. They believe that a new generation of workmen trained to meet the precise demands of a growingly democratic industrial situation will undertake to produce co-operatively in an ever-wider range of industries: that there are untapped sources of administrative skill and initiative in working people which have not yet been called out.

This same deliberate process of training is not without its definite prospect of achieving co-operative organization among consumers like that which older and more disciplined civilizations have developed. There are in many neighborhoods enough men and women experienced in working together to enter upon simple co-operative enterprise of this sort. New conditions which have developed during the war, by their emphasis on production, their compulsion toward thrift, and their considerable effect in creating new forms of associated effort by locality are preparing the way for the establishment of such ventures. Two interesting examples are a co-operative store under the auspices of Hudson Guild, and a Lodging House Union, which meets at South End House not only to establish rates and standards, but for the business of selling to its members all the staple supplies which they require.

The most important lesson of settlement striving during three decades to rear a generation better equipped both technically and morally for a highly integrated industrial system, is that the typical tenement background stunts rather than fosters productive capacity. By thousands, city-bred boys and girls have been found to lack food, air and sunlight, quiet and isolation, parental discipline of mind and will, protective and stimulating associations. Whole-

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some, productive, self-reliant, co-operative adepts of industry, able to bring their powers to the pitch of adaptable and spirited utility, cannot be created in city slums.

Successful group activities find their stimulus and reinforcement in neighborhood loyalties: a principle which holds with peculiar force in co-operative enterprises. Men or women who are enjoying some fresh experience of immediate neighborly team play respond readily to progressive measures of organization within factory or store. When many employees of an establishment live in a given locality this consideration has cumulative force. The English co-operative stores were products of village spirit. Co-operation in Russia with results comparable with those in England, is rural. The system must be built up on the small store which is inevitably a neighborhood affair. The prospect for solid continuance of similar ventures in America requires systematic development of neighborhood association expressing itself in various forms of collective and civic action.

Henry D. Lloyd, in his account of English co-operative stores and factories, concluded that such achievement was possible only in a homogeneous population.¹ One reason why co-operation has made such indifferent progress in America is because we are engaged with a vast problem of political co-operation involving the welding of many nationalities into one. Settlement experience indicates that this process must be brought to a much further stage in neighborhood terms before economic co-operation in any comprehensive local sense can be achieved.

¹ Lloyd, H. D.: *Labor Copartnership; notes of a visit to co-operative workshops, factories, and farms in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 332. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1898.

V
COMMON WEAL

CHAPTER XXI

TAMMANY LEADS THE WAY

EARLY residents were animated by the deliberate purpose of establishing a type of local civilization which should in the end loosely, yet organically, unify into one system every aspect of responsible activity within a small geographical area. It is not too much to say that their motive was that of state-manship reduced to neighborhood terms, but emancipated and enriched in the process. The sharp distinction in dignity between public affairs that were formally of the government and those at some stage of voluntary organization they set out to minimize. They hoped to establish the principle that voluntary undertakings of proved public utility might be assumed by municipalities, though they made it clear that as soon and as far as possible the solidarity, continuity, and comprehensiveness of public services at their best should be expressed in private enterprises for the common good.

Almost without exception, residents were convinced that settlements had a definite mission as part of the movement for municipal reform. They believed that corrupt men succeeded in obtaining office because the machines were able to deprive voters of opportunity to register their desire for clean government. Here and there, residents and occasional club members took the stump, distributed campaign literature, and canvassed voters. Ward registration lists were investigated to prevent inclusion of absentees and the dead and to make more difficult the importation of tramps and loafers for multiple balloting. Open buying and selling of votes was discouraged by placing observers in the vicinity of polling places, while within election booths watchers stood on guard to reduce terrorization of citizens.

The most intense centers of political activity were in New York and Chicago. The first attempt to take definite part in a local political contest was made from Neighborhood Guild as early as 1891,

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under the leadership of Stanton Coit and Charles B. Stover. Club members were invited to participate in the enforcement of the ballot reform law; and through tracts and speeches the Guild entered on a campaign to arouse the assembly district against its notably corrupt political leader. Residents in several East Side settlements became lieutenants in city vigilance leagues, and members of clubs took an active part in the campaigns.

An example definitely inspiring to settlement residents all over the country was the inauguration in 1896 of the Civic Club by F. Norton Goddard, whose brother was actively engaged at Friendly Aid House. Mr. Goddard hired a suite of rooms in a tenement in Thirty-third Street near the settlement, to which he invited men for committee meetings and to occasional breakfasts and suppers. Gradually a club was formed which was able to bring about the nomination of higher types of candidates within party lines, and in 1899 a well appointed house was obtained. The membership continues to be interested in local improvement and has taken an important part in securing needed institutional equipment for the district.

Chicago, better than any other city, illustrates the methods and results of hand-to-hand fighting against corrupt politicians. Hull House, on three occasions during the early nineties, sought the fall of the local leader. He accepted with amused toleration the election of a member of the men's club to one of the two seats in the City Council,¹ and was easily victor in two following campaigns directed against him personally.

Chicago Commons had the rare good fortune to be situated in a neighborhood where two-party rivalry was still real. In 1895 an independent candidate was nominated for alderman but was defeated. The following year a new candidate was brought forward and elected over a notorious gang nominee. In 1897 the ward ring, driven to the wall, elected its representative by falsifying election returns. A recount was secured, the independent installed in office, and two election officials committed to state prison. In 1902, when the party machines combined and placed only three men in nomination for three offices, the reform organization nominated an able young lawyer as the people's candidate and elected him.

¹ Each ward was represented by two councilmen, one elected each year.

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Finally, leaders of the two rings became convinced that it was in their interest to nominate good men, and independents met the issue by alternately electing the candidate of each party.

Other Chicago settlements have taken a direct part in local politics. Northwestern University Settlement, under the direction of Raymond Robins, organized a Civic Club which co-operated with the Commons in aldermanic campaigns, a precedent ably carried on by Harriet E. Vittum, who has brought about marked improvement in ward politics through organizing women voters. Archer Road Settlement and Henry Booth House have at times taken an active part in city campaigns.

In Philadelphia, College Settlement and later Saint Peter's House entered the political situation created by the effort to put women on local school boards. From time to time during the past three decades residents have taken part in campaigns conducted by the Civic League. Neighborhood canvasses have been made, literature circulated, meetings carried on, and parades organized. Although these enterprises have not been successful in their direct object, a revision of voting lists has been secured, many fraudulent names stricken out, and the majority of machine candidates cut down. An heroic example of what a single determined citizen can accomplish was furnished by Charles S. Daniel of Neighborhood Guild, who in the course of ten years reduced registration in his precinct from 415 to 200, and did away with the corruption of voters and drunken disorder which attend such a régime.

In Boston the policy of South End House has been to enter a contest only when local political candidates embody standards definitely lower than those of the majority of their constituents. In two campaigns for reform mayors and a modified charter, residents took a general part and the hall of the settlement was used for rallies. The House has sought to develop a local platform representing actual district needs, and to secure co-operation of better disposed politicians and officeholders in carrying it out. Results have been genuine and permanent.

By 1900 the majority of residents saw that their vision in politics was considerably in advance of local desires; and that attempts to induce their neighbors to join in efforts to purify public administration, far from being welcomed, were scorned and resented. Women

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residents, in particular, recognized that feminine interference was viewed with peculiar distrust. Some clear-sighted headworkers, men and women, smarted under the conviction that far from injuring bosses they had unwittingly permitted themselves to become cat's-paws. Certain others found that, as a result of electioneering, they had divided the settlement constituency and had lost the friendship of an important element among the people. Still others were forced to the conclusion that their activities had driven the ward leader to new lengths and led to the corruption of those who otherwise had hardly been worth corrupting. The lesson of these early campaigns was the impossibility, in localities traditionally loyal to one of the great parties, even to get an issue before the electorate.

Having bitten the dust before machine politics, residents set out to discover how the boss secures and holds his power.¹ The shame they felt that Tammany Hall, and its like in other cities, should be more effective than the forces of righteousness, urged them to trace out the tedious labyrinth of petty relations by which the machine builds up its following. Studies carried on during the eightennineties from University Settlement, New York, Hull House, South End House, and other settlements laid bare the human background of ward politics and the extent and minuteness of local machine influence.² In New York and Chicago the ever-present philanthropy of the boss was the emphatic aspect of his method; in Boston, his penetrating hold on all institutional loyalties and particularly on the gang life of older boys and young men.

A successful politician is to the local manner born.³ He enters

¹ " . . . the first problem of the student of government is to find out how rulers or governors manage to secure their power." Carver, T. N.: *Sociology and Social Progress*, p. 14. New York, Ginn and Co., 1905.

² Reynolds, James B.: "The Settlement and Municipal Reform." In *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, pp. 138-42, 1896.

Addams, Jane: "Ethical Survivals in Municipal Corruption." In *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. VIII, pp. 273-91, April, 1898.

Woods, R. A.: "The Roots of Political Power." In *The City Wilderness*, pp. 114-47, 1898; "Traffic In Citizenship." In *Americans in Process*, pp. 147-89, 1902.

These articles were widely read, and placed an indelible mark upon settlement tactics and strategy in relation to local politics.

³ Popular feeling that importation of candidates from without the district is paramount to closing a chief door to careers for local youth is very strong. Office holding is almost the sole avenue to professional life open to young manhood in

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into the precise passions and ambitions of his constituency and sympathizes understandingly with their struggles and desires. He appreciates instinctively that a wage-earner's chief stake is his job, and that women look to public men for a sympathetic attitude toward family and neighborhood festivals and tragedies. Unlike reform candidates he goes in and out among his constituency. He is therefore acquainted with secrets of human impulse and affiliation unguessed by his critics. He succeeds not through his faults, but because in some sort he meets important and legitimate needs and yearnings. The belief that any outsider, no matter how high-minded and capable, can win an immediate following is based on crude underestimation of loyalties of class, race, and religion which bind different groups of people to political leaders of their own kind. Neighborliness is at the basis of even bad politics, and sound government can be built upon no other foundation.

Observation and experience also made it clear that workingmen are not greatly attracted by the motive nor satisfied with the fruits of merely honest government. They dream of a broadly and humanly serviceable city, powerful, generous, considerate. The effort to encompass a model community by taking thought for its bookkeeping, safeguarding its finances, and enhancing its administrative efficiency makes but a sorry appeal among the tenements.

The improvement of local civic conditions through direct appeal having failed, settlements had to choose between going over the heads both of machine and electorate, or instituting long-range methods of creating a new constituency interested in public affairs. Most houses decided to do both. The decision was made open-eyed. Face to face with physical, moral, and educational needs of a generation of children and young people, residents could not afford to set themselves apart to fight politicians and to confront directly the ignorance and inertia of an immigrant electorate. It seemed wiser and more promising to secure equipment and service with which soundly to prepare the existing generation for citizenship, while striving to bring adults to a sense of their responsibilities.

By way of direct political effort, appeals were made to that in-

many tenement communities, a royal road to assured occupational and leisure-time status. Residents met this fear by giving moral guarantees not to seek office for themselves.

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creasing element of voters throughout the city at large who had begun to stand for humanized as well as honest politics, and to the remnant of local citizens who were not closely bound up with the machine. The settlement exposed to public-spirited citizens the local "roots of political power." It pointed out the necessity of having every candidate for the municipal legislative body scrutinized by the entire electorate. In return, this general city movement greatly reinforced the settlement demand for a broadly and justly serviceable type of politics.¹

This policy was crowned with genuine and substantial success. Though the boss was not ousted he was forced to a new way of life. A politician's chief claim to the favor of his constituency is his benefactions. The settlement not only clearly exposed the crude favoritism of his method, but followed the thrust by securing, through appeal to the new type of city-wide public spirit, municipal baths, playgrounds, gymnasiums, and branch libraries. There was a substance to this attack not to be gainsaid. Bosses saw the point and began to incorporate community benefits into their program. The whole hierarchy of politicians, from the little leader of ten to the congressman for the district, laid claim to every local improvement that had been obtained over a generation, and made expansive promises of tangible results for the common good in the future.

The other side of the story, and a more important one, is that ward politicians read the handwriting on the wall not unwillingly. Practical politics and municipal reform were at one, before settlements came on the scene, in not envisaging progressive municipal reinforcement of the people's health and vitality. The local leader temperamentally and professionally desires to play his rôle in the fullest sense, and if public improvement or general welfare be part of the tradition, he is among the first to catch and hold it. Settle-

¹ The tendency was perhaps most marked in Chicago. The Municipal Voters' League, organized in 1896, numbered several men with settlement training on its executive committee. By its success in reforming the city council this organization improved local politics, just as settlement activity in local politics had reinforced the early campaigns of the league throughout the city. The fact that in recent years the Municipal Voters' League and similar organizations in other cities have become less active, seems to be part of a periodic reaction which only shows the necessity of a still more persistent following up of the fundamental policy here outlined.

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ments exposed the shallowness and favoritism of his undertakings by establishing a standard of genuine municipal provision for community needs on a basis of equality for all.

Politicians taught settlement workers many needful lessons. The sense of the educated man and woman for the necessity of painstaking and long-continued investigation of individual and corporate need before taking action was mellowed by the ward leaders' uncritical helpfulness. The resident staff set out to build up the same exhaustive acquaintance and knowledge of personal minutia which is the stock-in-trade of the machine. Most important of all, the settlement began to match the variety of casual services rendered by political leaders here and there among the people in voluntary but calculating ways, by the establishment of municipal and philanthropic institutions with high professional standards.

Residents urged forward their work with a lingering picture in mind of an ideal community fitly compacted together. Here were the leaders of local political machines who had not only grasped the crude outlines of such a scheme but who were multifariously and tirelessly putting it into effect. The political boss was unwittingly thinking with the dreamers and the sages.

It gradually became clear that the settlement method and program covering in its range local geography, public health, economic conditions, recreation, education, and morals furnished a rival body of knowledge capable of being used to create a political substructure and superstructure analogous but superior to that of the machine. More or less consciously, the encyclopædic detail of acquaintance and influence accumulated by the settlement began to be cast in the mold of a small regional commonwealth in which every effort was to be as truly political, as truly for rearing the structure of city and state as were the endless operations of the ward machine in its distorted and yet essentially human outlook.

The chapters that follow show how a different system of group organization and leadership, a different appeal to ambition, different avenues to occupation, and different standards of local municipal service have in greater or less degree contravened the boss's lines of action. A method for preventing the corrupting influence of the machine has been discovered. It must be carried unremitt-

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tingly to its conclusion. This task of the generations depends on the general progress of the whole of great city populations. For the settlement it centers in those most characteristic efforts which aim to educate people from childhood up,—through the practice of all that has to do with uniting forces, in thought, word, and deed, under their own varied individual and group initiative,—toward the achievement of the full stature, in the rich human sense, of a body politic.

Residents seek to meet and hold young and old within the sympathetic restraints of the neighborhood circle; to organize and codify the higher moral sentiment of the people so as to assure and safeguard the rights of every individual; to make the neighborhood in a very substantial degree sufficient unto itself in the supply of worthy fellowship; to secure a range of educational, recreational, and associational activities sufficiently broad to satisfy the desires, and stimulating enough to call out the higher potencies of every member of the community; to involve individuals of all ages and types in reciprocal relations of some kind; to exercise families as families and neighbors as neighbors, so that every element of individual and collective life may minister naturally, almost automatically, to the upbuilding of each citizen and all together in the local community.

In the flux of neighborhood interrelations, and through the higher tone and impetus which it imparts, the whole variety of institutions, in proportion as they are locally involved, begin to catch the spirit of progress in both their inner and outer relations. Increasing signs of promise appear that they may grow into a somewhat coordinated enginery for the immediate local good and for the integration of real communal power. Its beginnings are based throughout on the vast and continuous accumulation of local knowledge through local fellowship.

CHAPTER XXII

HOME AND STREET

AN ACCEPTED characteristic of tenement districts twenty-five years ago was their dismal and even repulsive physical condition. The glamor which is an inseparable part of all pioneering caused early residents to gloss the full effect upon them of dirt and disorder. But day-in and day-out experience gradually revealed, in terms of physical and nervous strain, the costs of carrying on life amid unending noise of cars, vehicles, street-hawkers, and shouting children; of moving habitually through littered and noisome streets, of breathing fetid and lifeless air, of battling intermittently against a plague of vermin. The first civic venture of Neighborhood Guild was an Anti-Filth Society, organized to induce people to clear their rooms of bedbugs, lice, cockroaches, and rats; and Hull House installed, as a kind of supreme luxury, an incinerator for the destruction of garbage.¹

Pioneer residents sought to apportion the definite share of responsibility for these conditions which rested on property owners and municipality. Streets had been paved with granite blocks to withstand heavy traffic to nearby factories, yards, and docks rather than to promote comfort and sanitation. Hucksters and peddlers were permitted to turn highways and sidewalks into open-air markets. Insufficiently lighted streets were used as storage places for trucks and became favorite meeting places for the evil-intentioned. Tenements without running water, inside sanitary conveniences, or bins for storage of food and coal were the rule. Alleys, halls, and courts of multiple houses were regarded by tenants and public alike as extensions of the highway. Doors into hallways,

¹ These conditions were, however, borne with stoutness. There is a tradition that a resident of Neighborhood Guild, when commiserated by an uptown friend on the removal of a small insect from his coat collar, protested that such incidents were inevitable to the convinced democrat; that only through such discipline could the modern man hope to attain righteousness.

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privies, and cellars went unlocked day and night and invited abominations and crime. Dark halls and stairways could not but be filthy and dangerous. Children risked their limbs on slimy and crowded sidewalks and roadways, because there was no alternative but stagnation in one or two stuffy rooms.

Living in the thick of all this municipal neglect created an unmanageable impulse of revolt among settlement groups. They complained to street cleaning departments, to boards of health, aldermen, officials higher up. They captured newspaper reporters, inspectors and influential citizens, and piloted them through back yards, alleys, dumps, and into typically unfit tenements. They repudiated with heat, in the face of evidences of graft and inefficiency unearthed by good government investigations, attempts of municipal superintendents and contractors to account for conditions by lack of funds and public carelessness, and demanded that their localities be regarded as normal centers of living requiring the services common to other districts.

Some slight improvements in municipal work followed the mere publicity attendant upon opening the first settlements. Encouraged by the small measure of gain, many residents hoped that with intelligent effort better water and sewage service and the collection of waste might be brought to pass. Sanitary surveys were outlined and, in a few cases, carried out with some degree of thoroughness.

Awakening, immediate and rude, followed attempts to secure action upon such effort. Though an occasional official welcomed instances of violation of ordinances or of laxity among subordinates, the majority regarded complaint as a kind of *lèse-majesté*. They said, in effect, "Yes, it is too bad you should find your surroundings distasteful. But you are not compelled to live where you do. Why don't you go elsewhere? The people of the community are not so finical as you are." Newcomers recognized that it had become an accepted tradition at City Hall that tenement dwellers were not irked by dirt, congestion, and perpetual inconvenience; that working-class neighborhoods might safely be left to the last when appropriations for water and sewer mains and disposal of waste were being considered. The first lesson of this adventure was that, while forbearance and persistence as against arrogant petty officials are sufficient to secure abatement of a few

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minor nuisances, large-scale improvements in equipment and service depend on arousing a degree of public dissatisfaction sufficient to carry political threat.

Condition of the streets offered the most satisfactory issue on which to arouse interest and secure action. In 1887, as we have seen, club members of Neighborhood Guild formed a street cleaning association which assumed responsibility for its block. The following year the Guild raised a substantial sum to pay costs of extra sweeping during the hot months. Hull House, early in the nineties, stimulated local sentiment in favor of paving unimproved streets, induced taxpayers of several blocks to consent to repaving, and led a movement for needed reform in the method of assessing such improvements.¹ Members of the association thus brought together exercised careful scrutiny over materials and workmanship, determined, to quote a member, that there should be "one stretch of honest pavement in Chicago."² Residents in a few cases became inspectors in street cleaning departments.

During the later nineties a number of settlements formed groups of children to assist in keeping streets clean. The high-water mark of this impulse was reached in 1896, when the late Colonel Waring, then head of the New York Street Cleaning Department, created a series of juvenile brigades patterned on the regular department force. Residents of University Settlement took part in organizing this project, and several houses became responsible for local branches.

The securing of clean streets is closely bound up with the storage, collection, and disposal of papers, ashes, and garbage as conditioned by habit and custom. Many tenements were without suitable receptacles or storage places for depositing waste between collections. Farming out removal contracts as reward for political work resulted in service so irregular and insufficient that merely personal endeavor toward better things counted for next to nothing. The

¹ In the pioneer cities of the West sidewalks were largely of boards, and roadways unimproved. The latter oscillated between quagmires and dustheaps.

² Other Chicago settlements, especially the Commons with its men's groups interested in politics, exercised an influence in securing new pavements for their part of the city. In the East a number of settlements induced the city to lay short stretches of asphalt near schools and hospitals, and to flush streets in thickly congested districts during the heat of summer.

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situation called for concerted attack on delinquencies of tenants, landlords, and municipality.

By 1905 it was evident that in tenement areas the complicated demands made on highways by the mere physical presence of a moving mass of people and by open-air trade had created problems no longer avoidable. In New York a Push-Cart Commission was appointed by the mayor, upon which Miss Wald was asked to serve. The secretary, several investigators, and a number who gave testimony were settlement residents. Though the legislature failed to pass a bill drafted by the commission, police authorities a few years later put into effect the recommendation that push carts in the more crowded portions of the city be assigned definite locations.

In Chicago, Miss Addams launched a campaign to secure improved methods of handling garbage. Refuse food in that city for some years was stored in wooden boxes fastened to the board sidewalks. It was almost impossible wholly to empty such receptacles, the contents of which were scattered about; while the indifference of many people was shown by the use of boxes as seats. The service rendered by city contractors was scandalously careless and irregular. Members of Hull House Women's Club were asked to report cases of irregular collection of garbage. Over a thousand complaints were lodged and a slight improvement resulted. In the spring of 1893 Miss Addams, with encouragement and assistance from certain business men, determined to set up as a contractor. Though her bid was thrown out on a technicality, the mayor made her an inspector, a position which she filled for several years with the assistance of a deputy. By means of this entering wedge, residents of other Chicago settlements were appointed inspectors, and an ordinance was shortly secured for removal of sidewalk boxes.

These essays, squarely facing the most pressing civic difficulties, had the somewhat unexpected effect of bringing about a new appreciation of problems which confront even conscientious public officials. Necessary laws are sometimes unpopular and can be enforced only where local sentiment is created for them. Certain officials welcomed settlement assistance in reporting specific complaints, because it enabled them to do their duty. Efforts to improve local service made it clear that the problem of inducing land-

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lords and tenants properly to prepare waste for disposal is even more difficult than to secure its better collection. In addition to that inertia which settles down upon even well-to-do localities, inhabitants of many tenement neighborhoods were handicapped by traditionally low sanitary standards. Most immigrants came from villages where personal uncleanness was less offensive and dangerous than amid the congestion of large cities. Many newcomers deposited waste in flues, drains, and sewer pipes, or threw it directly out of windows. A widely applied, close-range plan of education, sanitary and legal, in the observance of municipal ordinances had to be devised. Residents became rent collectors, sanitary inspectors, and voluntary housing officials. Pleadings, badinage, iterated and strongly worded protest, reinforced by threat of appeal to police and courts, were often required to make slow-minded housewives or stubborn offenders obey the law.

While improvements in routine sanitary service and specific suggestion to landlord and tenant mitigated certain grosser evils, the way for neighborhood standards of cleanliness and for a more direct attack on politicians and city officials was prepared by the creation of an ever-enlarging network of local organization. Clubs and classes, especially the women's clubs, were induced to have well-informed persons address them on practical aspects of municipal service. Meetings before which public officials were asked to state their point of view were called. Once interest was aroused, people were asked to complain by telephone, by letter, or in person to city officials and local political leaders. Laws which define the duties of householders, rules governing classification and preparation of waste, days and hours when they might expect wagons to call on each street, were printed in languages of the quarter and distributed through the tenements.

Early in the new century definite betterment of sanitary conditions was visible in many localities. Tenement dwellers became increasingly critical of lax service, and the new attitude of better-to-do classes toward working people, in important measure the result of influences set in motion from settlements, strongly reinforced popular unrest as it reached City Hall. Heads of public sanitary departments began to find it worth while to devise ways

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of preventing littered streets and of securing more thorough discipline, economy, and efficiency. Most important of all, the local minority which desired neatness increased considerably and became definitely censorious toward neighbors who lagged too far behind advancing communal standards.

The pollution of air by smoke and odors is among the most trying experience of life in many factory communities. During the eighties, location of malodorous industries and municipal dumps in the vicinity of tenements went unchallenged. Successful protest against the introduction of fresh inflections, removal of particularly offensive waste heaps, re-routing wagons so as to lessen the burden of noise during early morning hours, and reduction of the smoke nuisance represent types of alleviation secured by many settlements. The stockyard districts in Chicago, to select a striking example, labored under not only the overwhelming stench of the yards but in addition were forced to endure the exhalations from a municipal dump. Residents at University of Chicago Settlement organized and led local public opinion in a campaign to compel more sanitary disposal of stockyard refuse and to replace the dump with a municipal incinerator. Two decades of persistent public protest were needed, however, before relief was secured in 1916.

Miss McDowell's experience illustrates two typical difficulties which attend all efforts to induce the comfortable majority of a metropolitan community to imagine itself in the place of an uncomfortable minority. One is to arouse public attention. The mind of a city is not easily focused on the troubles of one district. The other is to interpret a public problem in terms of common human experience. The plea of counsel employed to defend the company which profited by location of the dump "that there must always be one part of a great city set aside for unpleasant things, the people of which are, in virtue of their residence, less sensitive than the rest of the community," is fruit of this separation. Settlements confront both inertia in tenements and complacency in suburbs.

The logic of these endeavors to lessen the inconvenience, noisomeness, and menace of ubiquitous dirt led to a realization of shortcomings inherent in tenement houses. Early residents had taken measures to induce or to compel owners of neighborhood

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tenements to drain cellars, repair privies and outhouses, and light dark hallways. Condemnation of a number of houses, so unfit for habitation that departments of health had no alternative but to order their destruction, was secured. Settlement households of one or two persons were established in representative tenement houses, partly to study the color of life, partly to work out adaptations which might be applied to improvement of living conditions.

It was found that a prime cause of personal and communal uncleanliness lay in the difficulty of obtaining water. Many tenement apartments were without even a kitchen sink, and the necessity of carrying heavy pails from a distant hallway or yard potently discouraged refinements of cleanliness. Demand on the meager equipment of settlement showers and tubs furnished a telling argument in favor of public baths. Residents of Hull House in 1892 helped to secure an appropriation for Chicago's first public bath, which was erected on land controlled by the settlement. South End House, in co-operation with trade union leaders and several influential civic organizations, a few years later helped to secure an appropriation for the erection of the first indoor all-year-round baths in Boston.¹

While most settlements seek establishment of public baths, such advocacy in no way lessens their desire for housing regulations which require installation of adequate sanitary conveniences in apartments. Under American conditions public baths and laundries are felt even by immigrants to be visible acknowledgments of financial and sanitary insufficiency. The chief function of public washing facilities is to meet the needs of newcomers until they acquire American habits of living. It takes each fresh influx from abroad, under favorable conditions, about one generation to rise to the degree of cleanliness practiced by the nation. The process can be decidedly hastened by educating individuals and by pro-

¹Among settlements which have been instrumental in bringing about the establishment of public baths are: New York City: College Settlement, East Side House, Greenwich House, Union Settlement, University Settlement; Rochester: Social Settlement; Boston: South End House, Denison House; Chicago: Hull House, University of Chicago Settlement, Northwestern University Settlement, the Commons, Henry Booth House, Maxwell Street Settlement; Detroit: Franklin Street Settlement, Hannah Schloss Memorial; Cleveland: Hiram House, Council Educational Alliance; Columbus: Codman Guild. Some fifty settlements have an equipment of baths for public use. This is in addition to the very considerable number which maintain baths in connection with their gymnasiums for use of those exercising, and those which make a specialty of bathing children during the summer.

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moting common sentiment. Such expedition is a definite settlement motive.

Many lapses in the standards of living among working people have their cause, as has been indicated, in the structure of tenement buildings. Housing reform in the United States took its rise in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.¹ The important individual and public needs involved, the extent of property interests affected, alertness and determination of those who took part in the struggle, make the evolution of housing legislation in New York a story of nation-wide interest. In 1867 the Council of Hygiene and Public Health of the Citizens' Association induced the legislature to pass several important sanitary housing regulations which were strengthened in 1879 largely through the influence of Alfred T. White, a pioneer with a touch of Owen's power to give concrete form to his ideas. The first state commission "to examine and to investigate and inquire into the character and condition of tenement houses and cellars in the city of New York" was appointed in 1884, in response to public interest aroused by a series of addresses delivered before the New York Society for Ethical Culture by Felix Adler. It is of more than passing interest that newspaper reports of one of these sermons started Jacob Riis on his inspired crusade for homes and children. The Drexel Committee, on which Dr. Adler served, reported in 1885, and many of the recommendations were embodied in the revised housing law of 1887. Though the act of 1887 was a very great step in advance over previous laws it was far from adequate. In 1894 a new Tenement House Commission was appointed whose members chose Richard Watson Gilder to serve as chairman. University Settlement and College Settlement were now on the scene and their residents gave evidence. The commission reported in January, 1895, and the legislature responded by enacting certain of its recommendations into law.

It was a fortunate chance that during the years practical housing reformers were seeking norms applicable to all tenements, covering size and disposition of rooms, location and area of window spaces, healthfulness and convenience of sanitary appliances, kind and location of exits, there should have been groups of responsible

¹ Reports calling attention to the relation between housing and health were published in New York, 1834, and in Boston, 1846.

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and determined people living in tenement environments, in daily and hourly touch with inhabitants, able to set forth in specific terms the results of existing conditions on the health and welfare of men, women, and children, and upon the actual standards of housekeeping, home-making, child care, and sexual morality.¹

Residents of each new settlement, as it was established during these years, joined hands with the growing body of housing reformers. House-to-house and block-to-block surveys were made and results charted on maps to show cumulatively the overcrowding and congestion of neighborhoods as a whole. Certain residents devoted a decided proportion of their energies to specific measures of housing reform. Housing laws, it was agreed, were almost as much liabilities as assets. The better the law the more troublesome it was to enforce. The necessity for an organization continuously alert to protect and consolidate existing gains and to maintain initiative was overwhelming. With conspicuous generalship the Charity Organization Society in 1898 organized its Tenement House Committee, whose secretary, Lawrence Veiller, has done more than any other one person in this country to create adequate and uniform statutes. The new committee drew on the accumulated experience of a number of settlement houses by preparing in 1900 the first of several notable tenement house exhibits. The case for a new state commission was overwhelmingly established. Governor Roosevelt in 1900 appointed such a commission, with Robert W. de Forest as chairman, Mr. Veiller as secretary. Several of its members had settlement training. On the strength of the findings of the commission the legislature reinforced the previous housing law, and in 1902 created a tenement house department charged with its administration. Mr. de Forest and Mr. Veiller became heads of the new department, and seven of the first eight women inspectors appointed had been connected with settlements.²

Among settlement residents, passage of laws was looked upon

¹ Mr. Veiller decided to devote himself to such work as a result of his experience while a resident at University Settlement. See *A Model Housing Law*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1920.

² In Chicago the steps which led to the formation of the City Homes Association (April, 1900), principal sponsor for Illinois housing legislation, began at Northwestern University Settlement in January, 1897. Settlements in other cities have, in similar ways, organized the forces which have created housing associations, prepared exhibits, obtained laws, and secured their enforcement.

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not as an end in itself, but as a demand for a more refined and detailed type of local watchfulness. A striking example of the value of such watchfulness is furnished by the efforts of Hull House, in 1902, to account for an unduly high neighborhood death rate from typhoid. The location of cases, studied in connection with nearby privies, led Dr. Alice Hamilton to suspect contagion communicated by flies. Her researches not only helped to establish this theory, but showed carelessness amounting to criminal negligence on the part of sanitary officials. A number of inspectors were brought to trial, and ultimately a separate municipal department of housing in charge of a thoroughly trained and capable director was obtained.¹

The logic of efforts to make tenements a possible base for households, and to adapt the rudiments of domestic science to them, gradually forced residents to more exhaustive inquiry into the effect of tenement environment on the structure of the family. It was clear that overcrowding on land may have as deep a significance as overcrowding within buildings. Until 1905 the chief problem of housing, in the special sense, was concerned with questions of sunlight and air, size of room, fire protection, and the number of persons occupying a room.² But now there came a new and sweeping challenge. How much land in terms of space for play and association is needed adequately to provide for tenants who may inhabit even a model structure? Is it possible to encompass clean air, disinfecting sunlight, outlook, privacy, repose, self-respecting

¹ Equally necessary though less dramatic forms of continuous local surveillance go on in all settlements and leave hardly more objective record than bare maintenance of legal standards of housing. A succession of local epidemics in Alta House neighborhood, Cleveland, was brought to an end when residents secured enforcement of the municipal regulation that dwellings must be connected with a public sewer. The standard of life in one of those neighborhood backwaters which all settlement residents know, was investigated with minute and painstaking care by Greenwich House, New York, in order to discover the proportion in which blame for hopeless wretchedness might properly be apportioned to insufficiency of the law, neglect of landlords, sloth of tenants, and lethargy of public sentiment. The rami-fying effect of low-grade housing on health and morals was followed with meticulous care by residents of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, and the findings kept before citizens and public officials. From United Neighborhoods Guild, Brooklyn, an able system of voluntary inspection of tenement houses was carried on during several years. Facts were gathered in form to permit legal action and were published, together with the names of owners of buildings, in the Guild paper.

² Ten years earlier residents of University Settlement had noted the evils of overcrowding of population on the land. See Year Book 1896, p. 10.

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passage through streets, when more than a certain number of people are crowded upon an acre? Housing reveals itself as a matter not of providing cells in which a maximum number of bodies may be fitted and retain their capacity to labor, but of achieving a minimum essential layout for the community organism. In 1905 a group of settlement residents in New York combined to call attention to evils of lot and block overcrowding, and the congestion exhibit of 1908 marked full emergence of this new motive. Housing reformers and city planners have united forces for the purpose of creating not houses and not civic centers exclusively, but communities in which human nature may hope to find its legitimate measure of fulfilment.¹

The rudimentary needs represented by pure air, adequate water supply, careful and expeditious disposal of waste, and sufficient room within doors to arrest degeneration of the home under city conditions imply the complicated machinery of advanced civilization. The danger of dirt and overcrowding to individual and public health dictated the first stage of settlement effort for improved laws and more adequate public service. But filth and clutter are not less disastrous to character than to physical health; while conversely, health makes detailed and comprehensive demands upon mind and will. By transferring the point of attack on physical evils from superficial and remote to direct and personal sources, the settlement finds itself in accord with the present tendency among sanitarians to discount the effect on health of any but specifically infected dirt. The hygienic impact of the future must be first of all on family groups, because contact of individual with individual is closest in the home than at any other point of community life. It is within families that the technique of household care and nursing, and those habits of bodily cleanliness upon which sound personal and community well-being in the last resort depend, must be developed.

¹ Confirmation of these conclusions, if any confirmation were needed, may be found in the dreary fiasco of the tenants' housing agitation of 1908 in New York. Large companies of poor people on the East Side, tried beyond endurance by the rapidly rising scale of rentals charged for narrow and stifling cubicles in which they were burning out their lives, banded together to resist. Their bewilderment in a situation which they could not see through and their utter incapacity to unite broadly, coherently, or forcefully, were the legitimate fruit of an environment which saps any struggling capacity for co-operation. The situation has grown steadily worse during and since the war.

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But public health also largely depends on the degree of local interest and responsibility with regard to sanitary evils. Every neighborhood should include among its citizenship at least one group of men and women who keep track of assured advances in the growing science of hygiene, devise ways and means of carrying sanitary practice from doorstep to doorstep and from fireside to fireside. Settlement experience at every point has shown that the better standard never becomes secure until neighbors conspire together to see that it is maintained. As the standard rises, such collective sentiment is increasingly necessary to secure as well as to hold the gains made. A great moral teacher once said that the final achievement of the race would be a perfect hygiene. This goal can be approached only as the motives leading to it are in widest commonalty spread.

CHAPTER XXIII

HEALTH

PUBLIC concern for the health of working-class localities, until recent years, has been largely confined to panic-stricken efforts during and immediately after periodic epidemics. Tenement districts were regarded by intelligent people with mingled fear and dread as breeding places of disease. The most telling and widely urged objection against young women's taking part in settlement work, either as residents or volunteers, was the probability of contracting an infectious disease. Dr. Jane E. Robbins, first woman settler and a physician, confesses to having discouraged the project to establish College Settlement on the ground that only doctors and nurses could live safely on the East Side. During the early years at that house it was considered desirable to have someone with medical training in residence, even more to protect the household than to benefit the neighborhood.

The change which has come to pass is a joint triumph of medical science and social work. The origins of our increasingly extensive and consecutive neighborhood health program are found in that wave of spiritual enterprise that produced the settlements. Charles Kingsley, as we have seen, devoted some of the best energies of his mature years to national as well as local sanitary reform.¹ Canon Barnett, from the beginning of his ministry in Whitechapel, was active in promoting sanitary improvements and devising first-hand means for increasing the physical vitality of the people.

Pioneer American residents entered into this well-formed English tradition. An appreciable proportion of time and strength during

¹ His *Sanitary and Social Lectures and Essays*, written with a wealth of imagery and thoughtful detail, show how much he cared to make cleanliness and good health alluring. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1889.

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the nineties was devoted to ferreting out cases of diphtheria, scarlet fever, and typhoid, securing proper quarantine and care of patients, and instructing family and friends in the hygiene of prevention. Little by little, people of the neighborhood were brought to appreciate the value and justice of isolating sufferers from communicable disease. Negligence of local physicians in reporting cases of contagion to public authorities and placarding dwelling houses was gradually overcome.

Increased acquaintance among households revealed unsuspected ravages of suffering and worry traceable to disease and to unintelligent living. Many families were found trying to care for members chronically bedridden or incapacitated. More than half the infants and children of the community were in evident need of medical advice and treatment. An appalling number of adult men and women eked out life on a fifty per cent physical basis.

The settlement shortly came to be regarded in the neighborhood as a headquarters for help in sickness. First-aid rooms were opened in many houses. Men, women, and children not too sick to walk were directed to clinics and specialists. Residents arranged for the admittance of patients to hospitals, and in cases where the parents' prejudice and anxiety were overpowering, accompanied them. Despair of family and friends caused by the impersonal officialism of large hospitals, and especially those supported at public expense, was mitigated by securing adequate reports on the patient's condition and progress.

Some early residents hoped that young physicians of the best training and standards would establish themselves in working-class neighborhoods; and during the first half of the nineties a dozen women and several men opened offices in or near settlements. Accidents and sudden illness made demands on a large portion of their time and strength, while instruction in hygiene, talks before clubs and meetings, local sanitary surveys, and efforts for the improvement of the public health more than absorbed the remainder. Financially, however, the experiment failed. Services were accepted without question so long as they were free. Settlements were still too recently established to command the confidence of any considerable number of families able to pay for medical advice. These went to established local practitioners. Prejudice against

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women physicians turned out to be stronger among tenements than in the remainder of the community.

Physicians in other parts of the city, therefore, were asked to give several hours weekly, and neighborhood clinics were opened. These, in a number of instances, brought about establishment of dispensaries and outpatient service. In small cities of the West and South, and in metropolitan areas far removed from downtown hospitals, the settlement dispensary continues to be an important factor in community equipment. The number and variety of medical agencies in most large cities make unnecessary settlement dispensaries for the treatment of acute medical and surgical needs.

Almost as much as sickness, wage-earning men and women dread the cure that requires them to relinquish work. Loss of income and possible loss of job loom darker than physical misery. Since 1910, therefore, an increasing number of settlements have established evening medical and dental clinics for working girls and women. Once such a clinic is established, boys and men begin to seek the same privilege.¹

Experience, in general, is against the direct maintenance of medical agencies by settlements. If a staff is selected from neighborhood physicians, those neglected are bound to feel injured; if from outside, complaint arises that the settlement is importing and subsidizing competitors. A dispensary under the supervision of a medical society can be indifferent to criticisms of local doctors and can deal adequately with sources of contention from within.

The slight results of continuous effort during three decades by physicians and settlement residents on the problem of local organization of medicine make clear its magnitude and complexity. The last stand of professional charlatans and pariahs is among the tenements. So-called dispensaries advertising free consultations paid for in excessive charges for medicine and by money received for various forms of irregular practice go unchallenged. The employment of "practicing druggists," patent medicine venders, "lodge"

¹ Women physicians in several instances have built up a clientele among working girls. The fee for consultation is slightly less than the average local charge. Hope that fair costs of medical service might be met has not been fulfilled. Meanwhile the clinic brings help and healing to a growing number of people; and high-grade medical service, however limited in quantity, has its sure effect on the standards of the people and on local practitioners.

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and "society" doctors, though they represent an effort on the part of working people to pay their way, is medically unsound.¹

Settlement conviction, lay and medical, is clear and strong that the average tenement income is insufficient to pay fair costs of adequate medical service in illness which calls for multiple consultations, advice of specialists or assistance of laboratory, and nursing care. The success of the medical sharper in extorting considerable sums only adds to the tragedy. Industrial accident boards, evening pay clinics, and health centers represent helpful beginnings toward a democratic system for meeting the disease risks of wage-earning families. Whether such a system will eventuate in state medical aid, sickness insurance, more economical organization of medical service, or a combination among these, cannot be forecasted. It is to be hoped, however, that some of the millions of dollars once burned up in drink may be directed to paying costs of good medical advice. City workmen in comparison with farmers receive a heavy bonus of free medical service. Immigrants, who make up the larger part of those using dispensaries, must be educated to pay a reasonable price for benefits obtained.

Almost as important as the counsel of skilled physicians is expert assistance in carrying out treatment.² The earliest visiting nurses were in general affiliated with missions and dispensaries and their ministrations limited to beneficiaries of these organizations. They could not avoid seeing the effect, in terms of suffering, delayed recovery, and permanent weakness, of a miserable environment, poor and inadequate food, bad personal habits, and unhappy human relationships. Supplementary circles of charitably minded lay people were formed to meet these needs. When settlements came upon the scene, the faint beginnings of our modern district nursing service were discernible in a few large cities.³ Almost before they

¹ Fortunately many working-class neighborhoods are blessed by the presence of one or two men of sterling character and sound professional ability. Their influence, even though it often seems to be almost lost in the welter of mediocrity, is always definitely constructive. Yet even the high-minded physician is all too likely to become careless through pressure of work.

² The desire to bring the services of the trained nurse within the range of the poor led William Rathbone of Liverpool, England, to establish in May, 1859, the first visiting nursing association. The pioneer visiting nursing service in America was established in 1877 by the women's branch of the New York City Mission.

³ There were 21 visiting nurses associations in the United States in 1890, most of which, however, employed only one nurse.

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were aware of how it happened, women residents found themselves involved in various forms of medical relief. They served as impromptu nurses in childbirth, bound up cuts and bruises, dispensed simple remedies, gave aid and comfort pending arrival of a doctor, supplied food, medicine, and sick-room utensils, performed the housework of stricken mothers to keep the family together. Before long it seemed desirable to invite nurses to come into residence and carry on their duties from the settlement house.

The union of nursing and neighborhood work was destined to succeed. The impulse which led Miss Wald and Miss Brewster, on graduation from the New York Hospital Training School, to seek a dwelling among the men and women whose welfare was to become their concern, opened a new path of adventurous service in a profession whose fine traditions since Florence Nightingale have always included public-spirited care of the neglected and helpless.

The first purpose of the founders of Henry Street Settlement was to establish "a system for nursing the sick in their homes . . . on terms most considerate of the dignity and independence of the patients." The services of the settlement are keyed to hold members of each stricken household loyally together and to increase their capacity to act together. Certain important principles affecting the relation between family, nurse, and physician have been worked out. Interesting and significant to the neighborhood worker is Miss Wald's conclusion that the home is not only a satisfactory place for the treatment of most forms of illness, but the most satisfactory. Discovery that hospital care for mothers ill or in childbed all too often resulted in tragic disorganization of families, brought visiting housekeepers to supplement the work of nurses. The conviction that short-term illnesses of children, in particular, respond more favorably to treatment at home than in hospital, has received statistical justification.

The nurse who identifies herself with settlement and neighborhood wins a place in popular regard analogous to that of local physicians and clergy. Standing somewhat between the inflexibility of nature and of science and the deep-seated popular instincts of pity, she appears to simple people the representative of merciful human powers. She is able to put physicians in possession of elusive facts which have a bearing on disease. Authority gained from

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professional affiliations and expert service causes her advice in matters of hygiene and practical living to be specially regarded, and her patient suggestion often secures entire reorganization of habits and home.¹

It was, of course, natural that the first broad efforts of settlement nurses should be directed toward control of contagious diseases. As early as 1893 Miss Wald and Miss Brewster secured from hospitals and dispensaries in New York City a list of persons afflicted with tuberculosis who had applied for treatment and visited them in their homes. Sputum cups were supplied, and patient and family informed about proper hygiene. Other agencies were enlisted in obtaining food, clothing, and attention.² At the end of a decade (1903) the Board of Health organized a corps of nurses to carry on this service.

Though the principle of medical supervision of public schools had received statement before settlements came on the scene, few cities had actually employed school physicians.³ Pioneer residents, adopting the best private kindergarten practice, drew upon doctors and nurses regularly to examine each child in the settlement kindergarten and to treat those who were sick or ailing.

Miss Wald's wide and continuous acquaintance on the East Side revealed typical groups of children in need of detailed medical examination. Boys and girls were discovered too weak or ill to go to school regularly. A more or less constant though far from negligible group attended school while suffering from contagious diseases. Most important of all, numerically, were those handicapped by easily remedied defects, neglect of which made it impossible for them to keep up with their studies. In 1897 cumulative results of several years' observation and record were placed before the Board of Education, and led to the appointment of a staff of school doctors charged to examine children, to quarantine those having contagious

¹ Specialties such as the care of contagious disease, infant hygiene, and surgical after-treatment have been developed and in several instances passed on to city administration. In Los Angeles the district nursing service of settlements has been assumed by the municipality and made a regular department.

² Most of the expedients of medical social service were in detail antedated by settlement nurses.

³ The first school doctors in the United States were appointed in 1894 by the Boston School Committee.

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diseases, and to notify parents of boys or girls in need of medical assistance.

Serious gaps in the working logic of medical inspection were disclosed by thorough follow-up of actual cases. Pupils were debarred from class for days, and sometimes for weeks at a time, because families failed to secure additional medical advice, to buy prescribed remedies, or to follow orders intelligently. To cap the climax of this absurd situation these very children were discovered in close intimacy of street and playground with boys and girls they had been excluded to protect.

Miss Wald suggested to the Board of Education the employment of nurses to see that the advice of school physicians was acted upon. The services of a member of her household were offered to carry on the experiment. Within a month it was proved "that, with the exception of the very small proportion of major contagious and infectious diseases, the addition of the nurse to the staff made it possible to reverse the object of medical inspection from excluding the children from school to keeping the children in the class room and under treatment." Twelve nurses were thereupon appointed by the Board of Health and assigned to schools in tenement localities. Settlements in several cities, following the example of Henry Street, carried on school nursing until the service was taken over by boards of education, while others, by calling the attention of public authorities to results of such service in New York, were able to secure its adoption directly.

The conscience of early settlement residents was caught, as that of some public health officials long had been, by the appalling sickness and mortality rate among infants and small children in crowded city neighborhoods during the summer.¹ So overwhelming were demands created by the needs of families immediately about them on the time and strength of the settlement nurse that it soon became common to employ an extra nurse on the advent of warm weather. Houses without a resident nurse were driven to secure such service for the three hot months.

The more recent movement for conservation of infant life, how-

¹ As early as 1876 the New York City Board of Health appropriated a sum of money to provide medical care for a short period for sick babies in tenements, a plan that was continued in a desultory sort of fashion for several succeeding years and then allowed to lapse.

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ever, had its beginnings in the discovery that dirty milk is a prime cause of sickness and death among babies, and in efforts first to guard against the effects and later to prevent contamination. A pioneer in this field was Nathan Straus, a New York merchant who, in 1893, established the first of a chain of stations for distributing pasteurized milk at cost, or free when needed, among the tenements. In 1897 Dr. George W. Goler, health officer at Rochester, New York, organized there a municipal milk station for the distribution of pasteurized and modified milk.

The logic of the work of Mr. Straus and Dr. Goler appealed to settlement residents everywhere. In 1897 Northwestern University Settlement installed equipment for pasteurizing and was soon able to supply milk to other Chicago settlements. Modification began in 1902. Work soon outgrew resources and equipment and was transferred in 1903 to a special commission of the Children's Hospital Society. Houses in other cities opened milk depots, took part in forming milk committees, gave the use of rooms and services of their staff in order to hasten the establishment of local stations.

Experience soon showed that the problem of a safe food supply for children is not solved merely by securing and delivering it. Conscientious and scientific care in production and transit may come to naught through careless handling. Simple and inexpensive ways had to be devised for keeping milk cool and uncontaminated. The settlement nurse began to visit in the home in order to show mothers how to prepare and care for babies' food. The modifying of milk in the home was first taught in New York, in 1903. Gradually it was seen that instruction must cover the entire regimen of infant life. Mothers had to be convinced, often in the face of family and neighborhood tradition to the contrary, that pork, pickles, bananas, and beer are bad for infants. The practice was thus established of giving instruction about kind and weight of clothing, hours and conditions of sleep, technique of bathing, training in personal habits.

Knowledge of how tenement mothers care for their babies and actual examination of numbers of infants, uncovered a very considerable amount of hitherto unappreciated suffering among them. Baby clinics were created. That established at Greenwich House in the summer of 1903 stands among the earliest.

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The organization of a thoroughgoing campaign of infant saving on a city-wide scale started in Chicago. In the summer of 1905 Northwestern University Settlement, the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, and the Visiting Nurses Association established on the settlement roof an outdoor educational clinic. Doctors and nurses were in attendance, modified milk was on sale, and visiting nurses called on mothers in their homes and instructed them personally in the care of children. The scope and range of this campaign were enlarged steadily year by year until finally assumed by the Department of Health.¹

Out of such pioneering effort has come the infant nursing service in large cities, instruction of public school girls in the rudiments of caring for babies, and the infant-saving campaigns conducted by newspapers and industrial insurance companies. It is probably not too much to claim that in metropolitan areas care of infants under one year shows today a more complete application of enlightenment and co-operation on the part of appropriate forces than any other single function of communal life.²

The motive of saving lives of sick children has developed, by a deliberate process of extension, into a campaign of education in scientific child nurture and training. Settlement milk stations and clinics have become centers of constructive hygiene where the latest results of knowledge and skill in the rearing of children are brought within the ken of all mothers. Dr. Hamilton and Dr. Hedger have made important studies into the relation between family income, employment of mothers, and death and disease rate among infants.³ Science is surely confirming the reassertion of settlement workers

¹ See Appendix, p. 418, Note IX.—Infant Saving in Chicago.

² The infant hygiene station makes an excellent cornerstone in the edifice of community organization. Desire to save the life and health of babies is one of the most deep-seated and appealing individual and social instincts. To mother and even to father, it seems natural and right that neighbors, citizens-at-large, doctors, nurses, clergy, municipalities and states should be interested in the fortunes of a new soul and citizen. The bugbears of "charity" and "democracy" intrude only slightly into work planned for the baby's benefit. Interest of doctor, nurse, and social worker passes easily and naturally from infant and mother to the rest of the family. Mothers attending the clinic become acquainted with each other and provide a basis for extension of common interest. Their deep concern in motherhood as a profession makes them propagandist in all that has to do with its technique, and they extend their acquaintance easily and naturally to other neighborhood mothers. These in turn are brought to the baby station.

³ Hamilton, Alice: "Industrial Diseases; with Special Reference to the Trades

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that the place of mothers of children is in the home; that government, education, and industry have no more important duty than the adequate preparation and support of mothers for their supreme task of child nurture.

Endeavor to care for all babies by scientific methods revealed a considerable cause of suffering and death to mothers and infants in lack of skilled care in childbirth. A large proportion of births among certain nationalities are supervised by midwives. In 1905, Gaylord S. White, head of Union Settlement, New York, who had begun to face problems caused by a rapid influx of Italians into the district, obtained a sum of money to finance an investigation into the quality of service performed by these women.¹ Its results exposed the uncleanness, ignorance, and occasional criminality of midwives. At the instigation of the Neighborhood Workers' Association a law was secured in 1907 which placed on the Department of Health responsibility for regulating the practice of midwifery.² Although practically valuable and necessary, the control of midwives carries no enlarged hope for the future. By 1910 a small number of enlightened men and women became convinced that the time was ripe to bring the best suggestions of obstetrical science to tenement mothers. In May of that year, Mary L. Strong,³ a trained nurse and a resident of some years' standing at South End House, began pre-natal nursing on a neighborhood basis by seeking out women who were shortly to bear children, and instructing them in the hygiene of pregnancy and the preparation of the layette.

in which Women are Employed." In *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. XX, pp. 655-69, 1908.

Hedger, Caroline: "Relation of Infant Mortality to the Occupation and Long Hours of Work for Women." In American Academy of Medicine *Bulletin*, Vol. XI, pp. 80-91, 1910.

¹ The study was made by F. Elizabeth Crowell under the auspices of the Public Health Committee of the Neighborhood Workers' Association of which Miss Wald was chairman. The results were published in *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. XVII, p. 667, 1907, under the title, "Midwives in New York."

² In July, 1911, the first school of midwives in the United States under municipal control was established at Bellevue Hospital. Nurses of the Bureau of Child Hygiene now inspect the equipment of licensed midwives, call upon households in which there are newborn infants, examine the child, instruct mothers, and indicate the nearest baby hygiene station. In Chicago, settlements united to secure the services of Miss Crowell, and a similar study was made in that city.

³ Mrs. Howard Burns

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Through patient imaginative explanation mothers and fathers were brought to an intelligent understanding of the medical and other resources at their command.

The full values of expert medical service, however, are not secured until its moral and associational by-products are understood and definitely sought. The exaltation of gestation in the eyes of parents to its true place among the wonders and mysteries of life, the strengthening of the father's instinct to protect mother and child, establishment of the motive of forecasting the environment and training that may be expected to bring out the possibilities inherent in each new soul, desire to create a compelling and beautiful round of home habits and observances, represent important means of developing an aspiring type of family life. It was proved that these results might be brought to pass through visits, through discussion with the parents singly and together, and through an expected-babies club, in conducting which there was a rare fusion of practical wisdom with the moral picturesque.¹

Meanwhile, the first fruits of the spread of infant care are evident in certain neighborhoods. Studies of children under three years of age made from a Boston settlement showed that nearly all mothers who had sought advice of the local pre-natal nurse had been delivered by skilled obstetricians and had made satisfactory recoveries. A large proportion of the same women, had they lived in another neighborhood, would have been delivered by midwives. The infants born to the mothers who had received pre-natal care were all being nursed, and most of them were registered at the baby hygiene clinic. At the time of the investigations the mothers, with

¹ Year-in and year-out acquaintance with tenement mothers makes the present agitation about birth control seem far from distant and academic. Deeper, however, than the question of limitation of offspring is that of marital morality. Young people now come into marriage ignorant of its hygiene and with rudimentary ethical standards. Disease, nervous disorder, distressing personal relations, and unhappy homes are a common result. Religious leaders limit themselves, in the main, to prohibitions against enlightenment; educators and physicians, by and large, likewise eschew responsibility. A limited number of settlement workers have joined forces with those who advocate repeal of laws forbidding physicians to impart knowledge about contraceptives; others are strongly inclined, on practical grounds as well as on principle, to the established ethical position. While there is as yet no consensus of opinion among settlement nurses, physicians, and leaders of women's clubs there is discoverable a decided feeling that the issue must be faced and met on the basis of actual knowledge of facts. Infant and pre-natal clinics may be expected in time to offer opportunity for true case work in this perplexing field.

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only a few exceptions, were using good judgment in the matter of sleep, exercise, air, and diet. Local kindergarten teachers, physicians, and skilled neighborhood workers agree that children born within the past five years show greater physical stamina and resistance than those of a decade ago. In this district a demonstrably higher standard of infant care has been established: mothers no longer have to be sought out; they gladly avail themselves of pre-natal advice for themselves and skilled help for their infants.

The next step involves an equally intelligent system for children between eighteen months when the baby hygiene station, as it were, discharges them, and the fifth year when they come under supervision of school doctors and nurses. There is a tradition in many working-class neighborhoods that small children may as well be exposed to the common contagious diseases on the assumption that these are not dangerous to the young and had therefore better be got over with. Children of this age are particularly victims of treatment based on medical old-wives' tales that persist among the uneducated. It seems fairly obvious that every neighborhood should have a supply of skilled medical service available to children in this age group; and a number of houses now maintain medical, dietary, posture, cardiac, and other clinics for them.¹

The combined efforts of settlement residents and other social workers during more than two decades to arouse physicians and medical organizations to the effect of industrial strain, broken down family life, and community disorganization on the health of working people, found compelling medical reinforcement in October, 1905, when Massachusetts General Hospital "permitted" Dr. Richard C. Cabot to organize "a small force of social workers to attend to any cases which the out-patient department might see fit to send them."² Other hospitals and dispensaries followed. In

¹ South End House, in 1914, began by graduating babies and mothers connected with pre-natal clinic and baby hygiene stations into a Babies' Good Government Club for children between eighteen months and five years, with a constitution, rules of conduct, pictorial certificates of membership, monthly meetings, occasional parties and picnics. The club met monthly for recreation and instruction by a doctor and nurse who conducted what was known as a "well babies" clinic.

² Cabot, R. C.: First Annual Report of social work permitted at the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, October 1, 1905, to October 1, 1906. A classic document about the economic, domestic, and moral problems which arise in a great clinic

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several instances settlements had a part in initiating and organizing such effort. Their present distinctive service consists in following out medical directions for convalescence and in bringing about a right start in the patient's more hygienic way of living.¹ The whole problem of the convalescent stage is among the most recurrent that doctors, nurses, and social workers have to face.

A pioneer attempt to extend the principle of insurance to nursing was undertaken in 1909 by the Metropolitan Insurance Company of New York, at the suggestion of Miss Wald and in co-operation with the nursing staff of Henry Street Settlement. Services of the district nurse, under direction of a physician, were made available to policyholders as part of the protection offered by the company. Within a few years other industrial insurance companies adopted the plan, and this service has been extended to most large cities of the United States and Canada.

The revolution in medical science which took place between 1890 and 1915 has greatly stimulated the widespread application of medical service. Certain neighborhoods are now regularly visited, among others, by representatives of visiting nurse associations, public schools, milk and baby hygiene societies, anti-tuberculosis associations, departments of health, and out-patient departments of hospitals, factories, and commercial institutions. Some settlements now set apart a room with telephone, desks, lockers, and supply closets as a center of call, rest, and conference for representatives of these agencies. Here comprehensive plans for assisting families in difficulty are worked out through consultation among the several societies and the settlement. Incidentally, cumulative testimony is secured concerning local plague spots and families who are victims and disseminators of diseases.

The broad lesson of a quarter century is that the chief enemy of health is ignorance. All residents know the utter discouragement that comes of watching results of expert advice and persevering effort swept aside through intrusion of the authoritative counsel of

¹ A few settlements, notably Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, and Henry Street Settlement in New York, maintain convalescent homes. A dozen houses use their summer camps for that purpose, either in whole or in part, during spring and fall. The difficulty of raising funds for what seems to the settlement's supporting constituency not an inherent department of its work, makes such enterprises less common than they ought to be.

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crystallized tradition. Misinformation current in many tenement neighborhoods about the meaning of symptoms, appropriate home remedies, and hygiene of body, dress, and sleep, is a potent cause of weakness and illness. The growing conviction of sanitarians that contagion is chiefly conveyed by some direct passage and commerce between the healthy and infected is causing less stress to be laid upon superficial disorder and more upon essential cleanliness.

No one thing would more increase national efficiency than the deliberate stirring up of sound local talk about the need of skilled care in sickness, diet proper to various age groups, hygiene of domestic life. With this end in view the entire round of settlement work is directed toward creating local traditions about what constitutes physical well-being, individual, family, and neighborhood. Residents calling in homes constantly take note of those who might benefit by medical advice. Children who attend day nurseries and kindergartens, and members of clubs and classes, are looked out for by leaders and nurses.

In addition to many general forms of personal watchfulness, residents are constantly alert to carry the latest results of modern knowledge about health and hygiene to working people. Settlement houses have served as local headquarters in health campaigns, notably that against tuberculosis organized throughout the country during the nineteen hundreds. Robert Hunter, headworker at University Settlement, and Miss Wald were members of the first tuberculosis committee which was appointed in 1902 at the instance of Edward T. Devine, secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society. In certain cities settlements took the lead in launching anti-tuberculosis movements; in others they helped secure open-air camps, schools, and sanatoria for the treatment of incipient cases and assumed responsibility for follow-up work.¹ Educational propaganda through neighborhood exhibits, lectures, the distribution of literature, goes on periodically at most houses.

¹ Nurses Settlement, Richmond, Va., Telegraph Hill Neighborhood House in San Francisco, and Visiting Nurses Settlement in Orange, New Jersey, had an important part in launching anti-tuberculosis work in their respective cities. In Chicago, Gads Hill Settlement established the first tuberculosis camp (1905) in Illinois, and Hull House maintained a similar camp in its initiatory stage for working girls (1907). Whittier House, Jersey City, was instrumental in securing a county tuberculosis sanatorium.

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The campaign to promote greater care of the mouth and teeth later received a somewhat similar reinforcement from settlements. In 1908 Dr. William R. Woodbury, pioneer in oral hygiene, then a resident at South End House, organized a dental exhibit. The interest taken by people of the locality in the material shown was so great that charts and models were sent to other cities.

Neighborhood exhibits to bring about more careful protection and handling of food in markets and homes have been arranged in several cities. Many houses exhibit yearly, in connection with baby clinics, the clothing, bedding, food, and playthings most suited for small children; a few organize periodic "baby shows," believing that such events stimulate interest and pride in mothers.

These forms of specialized health propaganda are supplemented by individual and small-group instruction. Classes in first aid and elementary care of the sick are carried on as a definite part of the work of most settlements. Lectures on personal and family hygiene are a regular part of the educational program of settlement women's clubs. Children's clubs frequently invite doctors and nurses to address them. Settlements which publish neighborhood papers print information about care of children, household management, working of pure-food laws, importance of exercise, and other subjects of like character; several systematically distribute the literature of health education leagues.

An important cumulative result of all these forms of education is the increasing initiative shown by tenement people. Once parents learn the community's medical resources, a vital and thoughtful interest in health begins. Response to appeals to establish communal hygiene becomes more immediate and intelligent.¹ Clubs of women and young people at an increasing number of settlements raise money with which to assist sick members and other neighbors.

¹ When an outbreak of yellow fever occurred in New Orleans in 1905, Kingsley House neighborhood, although in many respects ill-conditioned, escaped with relatively few cases. This almost miraculous immunity was due in large part to the fact that as soon as the presence of disease was discovered the settlement women's club, together with children's and young people's organizations, were called together, the danger explained, and the co-operation of all sought. Each member of the women's club pledged herself to oil her own cistern, gutter, and vault, and to make a house-to-house canvass of the block in which she lived, for the purpose of obtaining the support of neighbors. Thirty blocks were canvassed. Throughout the epidemic the settlement was able to continue its regular work, thus keeping the neighborhood life as normal as possible.

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Local improvement associations organized at many houses are educating their members to think about health in terms of family and neighborhood. These several forms of medical and nursing service, education in personal hygiene, and organization for conserving health and strength, are creating a new mind among people.

Among all this work for the improvement of communal health there is one field in which substantial gains in sound local traditions are already discernible. The fortunate circumstances that placed the development of infant hygiene work under direction of persons affiliated with settlements checked the strong tendency toward centralized administration which besets medical perhaps even more than other forms of public-spirited enterprise. Establishment of the early baby clinics on a neighborhood basis will in time be recognized as among the great triumphs of medical organization in the twentieth century. Right practice in the care of babies thus systematically introduced into the gossip of the mothers of the neighborhood becomes so far part of the tissue of local opinion that departure from it draws criticism and opprobrium of family, friends, and neighbors. It is of more value to demonstrate the need of proper clothing, of fresh air, or of any other necessity so thoroughly that it becomes a topic of daily conversation in a local circle than to have imparted identical information to several times the same number living so far apart that members cannot reinforce and sustain one another.

The neighborhood health services in settlements are increasingly preventive and educational. A considerable number of houses carry on formal or informal diagnostic clinics. Results of examinations of children between seven and eighteen even in cities where the work of doctors and nurses is reasonably efficient, show that out of every hundred children more than 90 per cent are suffering from conditions that need attention. Medical findings of such examinations are followed up with great care by nurses and residents. An encouraging outgrowth of experience is that the practice of neighborhood doctors and dentists is helped rather than injured by intelligent medical supervision.

The number and importance of the activities for safeguarding and building up health carried on at many settlements, had they been part of the work of departments such as music or craftwork, would

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long ago have brought about establishment of quite separate neighborhood centers. This development has not taken place for several reasons, chief of which is the fact that there has not been a sufficiently sound medical and sociological groundwork to justify the superstructure. To call a milk and baby hygiene station whether under private or municipal auspices a "health center" seems almost flippant; and use of the term for a few public health services in a large metropolitan area with a population equal if not greater than that of important cities seems equally a misnomer.¹

Neighborhood organizers seek for their localities three boons. The first is an adequate pattern of medical service in terms of physicians, resident and non-resident nurses, first-aid rooms, clinics for infants, children and adults, and hospitals. A large number of houses now so far supplement the local educational, charitable, and commercial medical resources that fair advice and nursing care are within the reach of all.

The second is education of the community to use such equipment and service wisely and adequately. A standard of intelligence in the use of available resources for the prevention and care of disease at least a generation in advance of that in average working-class localities obtains among many settlement constituencies.

The third is establishment of those habits, personal, family, and communal, which are the sole safeguards against inroads of disease. Here again results of large significance have already been obtained.

To assure these benefits the development of a pervading centralized community sentiment will be indispensable.

¹ A few houses, among them Henry Street Settlement and Greenwich House in New York, Whittier House in Jersey City, and Welcome Hall, Buffalo, have made a beginning in bringing together their various forms of educational health service in one place.

CHAPTER XXIV

LAW AND ORDER

AN AGE-LONG tradition of the city had placed organized vice near by, and even scattered among, the homes of working people. Until very recently it was taken for granted that tenement districts should show moral degradation in proportion to their sanitary unwholesomeness; that in general a responsible relation existed between people who lived in slums and the entire round of vices found there. The attitude of established citizens toward such localities was usually one of reprehension. Typical efforts to better the situation were rescue missions and repressive societies.

Though pledged to consider every human being as at least potential man and brother, original settlement residents were affected with something like a sinking of heart on coming actually face to face with the realities of degeneracy. Street corners and open spaces, as well as saloons, were infested with tramps, sots, half-wits, loafers, and outcasts. A considerable proportion of this human flotsam and jetsam, it was evident, had its origin among more favored economic classes. That neighborhoods crowded above all others with children and young people should be called upon to bear not only the costs of degeneracy from within their own group, but that of other cities, states and nations, seemed too unjust to be borne. Residents were in full accord with their neighbors that tramps' lodging houses and mission shelters which attract such types are both impertinences and inflictions.¹

Among the heaviest handicaps under which congested districts labored was the custom of singling out some of their lodging-house streets as more or less authorized centers of corruption. From this vantage ground prostitutes and gamblers, created and maintained

¹ The return which the better-to-do make through institutions of philanthropy is probably far from sufficient to compensate for this unjust strain on working-class activities.

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by middle-class and well-to-do, ramified through the neighborhood, wormed their way into recreative circles, and used many devices for drawing in recruits. Small children were discovered to be conversant with the habits and manners of the underworld. Not a few boys and girls ran errands for keepers of houses of ill-fame and their inmates, or for venders of liquor, cocaine and other drugs. Child victims of vicious habits disclosed themselves. Because working-men, though in the main recoiling from prostitution, avoid the attitude of moral reformers, and because tenement women, no less than their better-to-do sisters, have refused to recognize the existence and significance of organized vice, a policy of laissez faire toward it had grown up in the districts, the bitter fruits of which revealed themselves in family skeletons, unmentionable illness, and court records.

Two causes for this apathy stand out with special clearness; one an almost superstitious holding aloof from contact with evil, the other an overwhelming dread of reprisals. Vengeance of the underworld is peculiarly sudden and unaccountable upon enemies who live within its purlieus. Settlement residents, as persons on duty for the sake of confronting an entire situation, took upon themselves the task of ferreting out nests of vice and of appealing to police and to vigilance societies. A crusade against nearby houses of prostitution was begun by its residents shortly after the establishment of Neighborhood Guild. Most settlements, at one time or another, and some of them constantly, have been in protest against thinly veiled or openly rampant prostitution. Neighbors in a number of instances, after the possibility of securing results has been demonstrated, have been organized into committees which provide a bulwark against invasion and defense against threatenings.

But prostitution could not be adequately combated from within the neighborhood, and in the late nineties, partly as a result of steps taken by Henry Moskowitz, then head resident at Madison House, there came into being perhaps the first municipal morals commission, the widely known Committee of Fifteen. The work of this commission led in other cities to organization of similar bodies.¹

¹ William H. Matthews, of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, was ready at a critical time in the moral life of the city with accumulated results of heroic study and experience. Graham Taylor served on the Chicago Vice Commission.

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These morals commissions have, almost without exception, confirmed settlement conviction that segregation of vice in working-class localities is among the cruelest anomalies of civilization.¹ Residents believed that once the community could be brought to face actual facts, the policy of segregation would be set aside. But the success of combating rather than of coming to terms with vice, means that in such neighborhoods there must be a group of resourceful and desperately determined citizens pledged to see that there is no protected center within their territories. This kind of vigilance settlements are in duty bound to carry on.

In addition to forms of degeneracy which are in a way foisted on them, the working classes, like other strata in society, have their characteristic and more or less indigenous vices. Of these alcoholism, except among the Jews, and juvenile delinquency, have been most frequent. Until 1919 social occasions in most tenement neighborhoods were organized on a drink basis. Birth, marriage, death, politics, recreation, all red-letter festivals and occasions, were celebrated to accompaniment of liquor. Many local heroes held their forum before bars. Saloonkeepers were generally leading business men and citizens. Criticism of the saloon touched ingrained loyalties and vested interests to the quick.

When settlements came on the scene a decided degree of dissatisfaction with the prevailing crudely aggressive temperance agitation was developing among intelligent people. Physiologists were analyzing the effects of alcohol on tissue; and practical students of affairs were seeking reasons for the prestige and power of the saloon. Representatives of settlements during these years participated in a study of the recreational functions of the saloon carried on by the Committee of Fifty. The results, which were published under the title "Substitutes for the Saloon," drew largely on settlement experience;² and it is worth noting that until 1919, conclusions

¹ The fact that some educated women were living in such an environment, and that others as volunteer club leaders were passing from their homes into it, has had an important part in arousing the favored classes to the dangers which so many daughters of the tenements are continually forced to meet.

² Calkins, Raymond: *Substitutes for the Saloon*; an investigation made for the Committee of Fifty under the direction of F. G. Peabody and others. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1901.

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reached in this volume had not been superseded. During the first decade of the century widespread dissemination of the opinion that alcohol in limited amounts had a real, though excessively attenuated, food value; the belief that saloons were poor men's clubs; and, in the case of immigrants, a certain cosmopolitan appreciation of other ways of living, caused most settlement workers to assume an attitude of suspended judgment on the desirability of prohibition in general, apart from doubts about enforcement in large cities.

The question of the individual saloon, however, remained. In nearly all settlement neighborhoods certain barrooms stood out as obvious, and even notorious, centers of corruption; headquarters for political bosses, thieves, crooks, pimps, and prostitutes. Residents of more than usual venturesomeness and faith occasionally haled a particularly vicious publican into court; but the alliance between politics, police, liquor, and prostitution was, in many American cities, too subtle. Victory, when rarely it came, was generally turned into defeat. Offenders changed the names of their places, transferred licenses to others of their own ilk, or moved a few blocks away.

In several instances, however, watchfulness year in and year out, combined with constant threat of court action, brought about some mitigation of otherwise intolerable situations. An example of fearless effort was furnished by Kingsley House, Pittsburgh. The settlement was situated among a population of diverse immigrants and Negroes, including many unmarried casual laborers, near a downtown district which had a reputation from coast to coast for vicious debauchery. Strategy called for separation of the sale of liquor from commercialized prostitution. Charles C. Cooper, head of the house, persistently collected evidence against the more notorious places and prosecuted owners. Under threat of contesting licenses, local saloonkeepers agreed not to sell liquor to women. The closing of screened rooms frequented by degraded men and women materially reduced the public display of lewdness and drunkenness, and by so much made the neighborhood safer for children and young people.

Cafés which included liquor selling with arrangements conducive to solicitation, and licensed hotels which encouraged prostitution, were recognized as a combination of forces peculiarly threatening

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to city young people. Boston settlements instituted on their own account an investigation of this system. Disclosures made brought the appointment of Robert A. Woods to the licensing board, in which connection he was able to put into effect regulations which severely restricted evil methods in these places. In general an important result of settlement influence during the nineteen hundreds and the nineteen-tens was the creation of a strong and widely prevalent conviction of the urgency of breaking the alliance between liquor and prostitution.

In certain neighborhoods saloons were chiefly drinking places, and owners were not directly interested in crime and debauchery. But it frequently happened that local standards governing the use of alcohol lagged behind the excise code. Settlement residents in such neighborhoods canvassed owners of objectionable places, and occasionally secured their co-operation in enforcing the statute which prohibits sale of liquor to minors, either for consumption before the bar or for delivery in shops or homes.

The public dance hall, because of its alliance with liquor interests and its all too general control by men of low or negative morality, falls more within the scope of moral pathology than of moral hygiene. It was surely one of the anomalies of civilization, happily corrected, that a close relationship should have been tolerated between alcohol and dancing, a form of recreation whose innermost significance is based on sex attraction and whose fascination is partly found in the consciousness of venturesome risk which accompanies it. The result was analogous to permitting dizzy persons to walk the edge of a precipice. Court records, researches of vice commissions, and studies conducted at psychopathic institutes have overwhelmingly confirmed the opinion of settlement residents that separation of dance halls and saloons constituted an essential prescription in the organization of city life.

A number of houses regularly inspected saloon dance halls. Proprietors were induced to exercise a stricter supervision over stairs, toilets, and retiring rooms, to discourage sale of hard liquor, and to enforce early closing hours for young girls. It occasionally became necessary, as a matter of public policy, to bring serious and continued violation of statutes to the attention of officials; and it was always cause for congratulation if a wealthy dealer was culprit.

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Municipal and state regulations establishing a minimum age below which children were not permitted to attend public dances, a reasonable closing hour, and obligatory police supervision of dancing floors and retiring rooms were brought about in a number of instances and are quite as requisite under prohibition as before. These sound restrictions furnish a slight measure of protection to the immature, thoughtless, and scatterbrained. But they represent, at best, only a feeble breakwater, which seems rather to meet the community's instinct for its own outward self-respect than to furnish effective safeguards.

These sporadic efforts at restricting the evil power of the saloon were incidental to carrying vast burdens caused by it. The most constant family problem in many tenement neighborhoods was the drunken father.¹ So great sometimes was the stake represented by the capacity of the victim, and value of the family group of which he was the unworthy head, that every ounce of emotional force and human resource at command of the entire settlement staff was devoted to his cure.

Experience with families aggregating many thousands strongly emphasized the conviction that poor home-making was a potent contributing cause of inebriety. The woman, slack and uncleanly, wasteful in her use of income, incompetent in preparing food, inclined to nagging discontent, was an important ally of the saloon. It was not a coincidence that the lowest percentage of alcoholism was found in those national groups with good dietary and consistent housewifery. Neighborhood traditions and associations hardly less than conditions within the home were seen as continually provoking causes of relapse. Results of long-continued struggle by victims, and weeks of patient assistance on the part of relatives and friends, were often swept away by the apparently irresistible power of old resorts, old companions, old mental suggestions.

A new era in the treatment of alcoholism, based on studies of how liquor affects the nervous system, and on more detailed and subtle forms of treatment, began about 1905. Settlement workers set out to make results of this new knowledge, first utilized for the benefit of well-to-do inebriates, available for workingmen. Skilled medical advice and treatment were obtained for those who manifested a

¹ Jews and Italians are notable exceptions.

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desire to control their appetites, and money was raised with which to send specially hopeful cases to approved institutions. Forms of follow-up guardianship and helpful espionage were developed. Results of case work demonstrated the need of a public policy for the treatment of working-class alcoholics. Appointment of the head of South End House, as chairman of the board of trustees of Foxboro, Massachusetts, afterward Norfolk, State Hospital (1907), marked the initiation of a régime which changed that institution from a modified penal colony into a distinctly medical establishment.

Intimate and detailed knowledge of the natural history of inebriety which grew out of this new type of rescue work made possible a fresh and concrete attack on the saloon. Analysis of police and hospital records in Boston showed that an unduly high percentage of arrests for drunkenness and of hospital cases came directly from a limited number of saloons which subordinated every consideration to that of money-making. The difference between publicans who in some crude measure protected patrons, and those who recklessly pushed the sale of intoxicants upon persons already at the point of helplessness or delirium, was so great in point of effect on family and neighborhood life as to make the latter criminals of a highly dangerous sort. Settlement residents took part actively with others in a hard fought but finally successful campaign for a law separating sale of liquor by the glass from its sale in cans or bottles.¹ This rule put an end to the purchase of liquor by women in saloons.

For some years it seemed to settlement residents that they were in the grasp of a situation which compelled them to graduate children who came up through clubs and classes, as it were, into saloons. Necessity for providing the usual concomitants of drink apart from its sale was therefore driven in upon them with peculiar intensity. Inquiry showed that the great majority of boys had to overcome their initial repugnance to the taste of liquor, that the first glass was often taken in a spirit of bravado or because it was a

¹ The testimony of a considerable number of inebriates showed that many saloon-keepers evaded the law which forbid them to serve alcohol to persons already intoxicated by pressing the sale of heavy liquors in bottles when the victim could no longer be tolerated before the bar. The inebriate was by this means enabled to make himself crazy drunk away from the premises of the dealer.

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traditional part of a good time. Settlement events were therefore planned specifically to undercut the saloon by providing opportunities for more enjoyable association and by appeal to personal dignity. The result was an increasing number of settlement trained youth who became total abstainers, while a very large proportion of those who drank on occasion made no concealment of their scorn of saloon habitués.

In the second decade of the new century, along with profound change in public sentiment, national action to eliminate the sale of liquor for the sake of what few doubted would be an overwhelming increase of human effectiveness and happiness began to win support of most settlement residents. They felt, however, the far-reaching need of a kind of prohibition which would not only be carried through but be amply supplemented by the moral sentiment of the community. It was very clear, from their point of view, that the satisfactions of temperance must find as distinct embodiment in men and institutions as the satisfactions of alcohol.

The coming of national prohibition was welcomed by the great majority of residents as a marvelous historical result. They rejoice that they have been privileged to contribute in ways direct and indirect toward its accomplishment. Already their neighborhoods have been profoundly changed by it. Struggle against dark facts of life, not only drunkenness and the crime associated with it, but prostitution as well, will for them be distinctly and permanently lessened. There is, of course, a considerable amount of violation of law; but the net result is an overwhelming improvement, and in due time a combination of national and local authority will reach centers of illicit trade. Now that saloons have so largely disappeared, pool-rooms seem likely to become conspicuous as centers of evil influence. As headquarters for the baser element who spread a contagion of gambling, immorality, and outright crime, they must become objects for first-hand study. More or less questionable, also, are cafés found among Levantine immigrants.

The child is father to the man; shortcomings of the two have a common origin. Just as misuse of alcohol and other vices provide morbid outlet for thwarted adult instincts, so breaking municipal regulations, hectoring inoffensive people, petty thievery, and sexual

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irregularities represent the adolescent's blind effort toward larger life.

These phases of juvenile activity in their neighborhoods come insistently to settlement attention. Residents are called upon by parents to assist in rescuing erring children, members of clubs and classes, from courts. A considerable number of delinquent children are more sinned against than sinning. It is impossible to take seriously the arrest of a child for trespassing on property of a crotchety householder, playing ball in the street, and similar offenses. The qualities of daring, inventiveness, and skill of the sort embodied in certain crimes are so palpably those demanded by industry that arrest of a child exercising them seems like penalizing ability.

Settlements very early had representatives at neighboring police courts. They were able to say to magistrates, many of whom were finding the situation quite beyond them, "We understand somewhat of the temptation these boys and girls have to meet on the streets; we go in and out of their homes and associate with them in clubs, classes, and recreational enterprises; we will take continuous responsibility for keeping a friendly eye on them and for endeavoring to prevent their relapse." The juvenile delinquency law and process were forecasted, in essential principles, by lessons that came out of such informal but resourceful care. Indeed, service rendered by residents at Hull House had an important share in establishing the Chicago Juvenile Court, which contests priority with that of Denver. Settlements in other cities, on the basis of local experience, took the lead in developing public and legislative support for this admirable instrument of educational justice.¹

Many early probation officers of juvenile courts were obtained from staffs of local settlements, and a number of others without such experience took up residence as a means of becoming acquainted with life in a working-class neighborhood. A considerable group of probation officers favors using settlements as headquarters because houses are likely to be centrally located, easily accessible to parents, teachers, and friends, frequented by other children, and

¹ The juvenile court originated in South Australia in 1890. Toronto, Canada, established such a court in 1893. The Chicago Juvenile Court came into being in July, 1899.

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without stigma. Certain officers encourage their charges to bring chums and playmates to the settlement in order to find out the sources of influence which affect them morally. The probation officer is sometimes able to save these companions before they, too, become probation material. By articulating such children normally with parents, playmates, and neighbors, by giving them a chance to do creative work, by interesting them in a club and asking them to assume some simple responsibility, such a group as a whole is brought to a higher level of conduct.

The most serious form of juvenile delinquency among boys, in its ultimate effect on mind and character, is gambling. As the result of immemorial tradition, shooting craps and pitching pennies have come to be looked upon as blameless amusements, or at worst as venial offenses. The practice of matching coins to cover expenditures for carfares or ice-cream sodas carries equally little moral recoil. Much gambling is the result of vacant-mindedness, and an equal amount represents misapplication of generous readiness.

Where play resources that offer excitement and mental stimulus are few and poor, games of chance arise automatically. Waves of interest in particular games spring into being, run their course, and disappear. In neighborhoods of mixed immigrant peoples, the exotic flavor of a gambling game peculiar to one group sometimes creates a flurry of interest among those of other nationalities and leads for a little time to a very carnival of play. In not a few cases this habit brings about utter moral breakdown. All settlements seek continuously to displace the craving of youth for games of chance by providing sports of the keen, zestful sort and by stimulating a neighborhood sense of public disgrace attaching to every crap-shooting circle.¹ Permanent improvement demands a special police squad, support of magistrates in meting out adequate punishment, extended opportunities for wholesome amusement and recreation, a greater degree of co-operation with public school authorities, and some way of engaging the responsible interest of parents.

Quite as gambling, burglary, and violence are distorted means

¹ Boston Social Union and New York Association of Neighborhood Workers have several times carried on a city-wide census of street gambling games during certain days and hours and communicated results of their findings to the police. Such surveys lead to a little temporary activity. But the breaking up of games in one locality merely drives players under cover or into another.

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through which boys give expression to their sense for adventure and desire for more life, the manifold approaches to sexual laxity represent the girls' distinctive delusions in their search of ease, gaiety, and romance. While the scarehead estimates often put forth about the prevalence of sexual impurity among tenement children and young people are in the nature of libel, the situation is nevertheless sufficiently serious.

Three decades of continuous participation in the interests of tenement families have made much clearer the dominant temptations of youth, motives that impel to wrongdoing, means through which evil impulses are put into effect. But such progress has only shown the necessity of going further. Within the past few years juvenile courts, medical men, and neighborhood workers have united in asking for further analyses than those undertaken of the causes and effects of misdoing in young human nature. Largely through influences set in motion from Hull House, the first psychopathic institute for treatment of juvenile delinquents was founded in 1909 under the leadership of Dr. William Healy.¹ The beautiful and terrible interpretation of present-day temptation which Miss Addams has given under the title of *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*,² represents a kind of first fruits of such work. Meanwhile, studies of young working girls and boys and of little girls made by the National Federation of Settlements provide clearly outlined pictures of the practical influences which hinder the graduation of youth into firm-willed and clean-minded adults.³ Low-grade family life, presence of an undue proportion of feeble-mindedness, thwarted recreational instincts, influence of unclean recreation resorts, ignorance of the laws of sex hygiene, speeding up of adolescence, and lack of affirmative neighborhood traditions are among the more important influences that degrade and stultify.

The actual step toward a comprehensive attack upon the sources of moral contagion is due to Mrs. Louise DeKoven Bowen, an able

¹ Now with the Judge Baker Foundation, Boston.

² New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909.

³ *Young Working Girls*; a summary of evidence from two thousand social workers. Edited by R. A. Woods and A. J. Kennedy, with an introduction by Jane Addams. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1913.

Schedule on the Problem of the Adolescent Girl Between 14 and 18 Years of Age, 1911. Schedule on the Adolescent Boy, 1914. Pamphlets published by the National Federation of Settlements.

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associate worker at Hull House as well as a generous donor. The law which established the Chicago Juvenile Court made no provision for payment of probation officers, and for some years the cost of this service was met by a committee of citizens. When the city finally assumed support, the juvenile court committee, under the title of Juvenile Protective League, turned its energies toward eliminating as many as possible of the conditions that lead to juvenile crime.

The city was divided into sections and a paid executive officer appointed for each district. In several cases where there was neither settlement nor similar resident group in the district, the local superintendent went to live there. The first duty of this official is to form a council of local citizens who study drinking places, cafés, hotels, motion picture shows, dance halls, stores for the sale of postcards and reading matter—all the possible sources of moral contagion. The interest of a large number of parents is enlisted in the purposes of the league. When there is no program of educative recreation such as that organized by a settlement, the league asks responsible heads of women's clubs, churches, and other local institutions to help in making such provision.

The downright appeal of this motive for the systematic and comprehensive neighborhood guardianship of childhood and youth captured the moral imagination of people all over the country, and even where a league has not been formally organized, the idea is often put into effect by school nurses, home and school visitors, and occasionally by church authorities. Thus a weir is being constructed through which fewer and fewer neglected boys and girls shall pass into the ranks of offenders.

The settlement is designed to be a center for the constructive fulfilment of law. A number include a lawyer among residents quite as they do a physician; and several have maintained bureaus for legal advice.

Residents bear testimony to the faithful and judicious service of many police officers. No arm of the city's service has larger human possibilities, and when these are recognized, there are no representatives of the government with whom the settlement can have a more effective understanding. The roundsman who stays long in a district generally learns to be discerning and patient, glad to help

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either wronged or distressed once he understands their need. Many such men are true social workers as well as guardians of the law. Even where corruption among higher officials makes it expedient and profitable to countenance evil, there are always a number who refuse to besmirch themselves or do so under protest and with inner writhing.

Settlement workers are convinced advocates of policewomen. The appointment of a woman to keep track of public association of young and inexperienced girls has its sure effect both on the innocent and evil intentioned. An important result of this pioneer work is its influence on the male force. It is increasingly common for roundsmen to escort to their homes young girls making themselves conspicuous or following a course which seems suspicious. The good effects of such action are almost immediate upon both culprits and their families.

The fortunes of police departments vary in great degree with the administration and officials in charge. Shining examples of what should be have not been lacking. Innovations begun in New York by Commissioner Arthur Woods drew out the admiration and the practical support of settlement workers very much as did the efforts of Mr. Roosevelt in the same position years before. On the other hand, the existence of rampant vice always means police corruption. Situations arise in which there is nothing for the settlement to do but to fight, in season and out, for honest and decent local service.

At the time when settlements were being established, humanitarian sentiment was running strongly toward more sympathetic treatment of young offenders, as exemplified in reformatories at Elmira and Concord. Though they fully shared this point of view, residents found difficulty in appreciating the extremely tolerant attitude of neighborhoods toward those who had been "sent away." As all provocative facts are made clear, they have come to understand and in a measure to agree with such tolerance.

It is true, conversely, that settlement classes in industrial training got their start in part through the plea that such opportunities should not be limited to those behind bars; that boys who have not broken the law should receive industrial training, if for nothing else, to prevent their becoming candidates for a reformatory. From one angle a great part of settlement work is designed to exercise this

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saving function. Testimony of court officers, and particularly that from juvenile courts, shows clearly that this result is being accomplished. Even before prohibition, in many settlement neighborhoods there was a notable decrease of corner loafers as compared with early days; and use of such localities as hiding places for prostitution and crime was definitely decreasing.

This situation stimulates the purpose of detecting sources of immorality and crime by means of the interlacing district relations. To elicit from neighborhoods and from the whole variety of local leadership and organization a readiness to reach and maintain a positive tone and standard in the district as against all tendencies to degeneracy, is a decisive objective toward which the settlement is always moving.

CHAPTER XXV

SCHOOL

BOTH by instinct and training the original settlement residents were educators. Almost as soon as they had unpacked their trunks they visited neighborhood schools and made acquaintance with principals and teachers. Books were gathered together and placed at the service of teachers and children. Class libraries were established, framed photographs and casts presented, and exhibits of natural objects arranged.¹ As they went into the people's homes, residents pointed out the value of educational discipline and urged parents to encourage restless boys and girls to remain in school at least until they had completed the grammar grades. Children showing special ability or talent were helped to prepare themselves for high school or college, and parents induced to make needed sacrifices. Scholarships were raised to care for ultimate deficiencies. It was efforts such as these, reaching in the aggregate some thousands of children, that led Felix Adler to call settlements "talent-saving stations."

The vague assurance of practically all educated people during the eighties and early nineties that the understanding between teacher and parent which characterizes the normal American community at its best obtained in tenement localities, settlement workers found not to be justified. Far from visiting school, seeking acquaintance with the child's teachers, and consulting about his progress, most immigrant parents looked upon school as a world in which they had no direct knowledge or part. Only when a boy or girl so far outraged order that punishment was demanded, was father or mother summoned to interview teacher or principal. In many neighborhoods it was in the nature of disgrace for a parent to be seen within school premises.

¹ As a result of Miss Starr's gift of a careful selection of framed photographs to local public schools, the Chicago Women's Club appointed a sub-committee on school art, which later became the Chicago School Art Society.

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This lack of touch between educators and parents, and the fact that so large a proportion of adults had not themselves experienced public school training, were actually creating a tradition inimical to American standards. The new missionaries of education found a considerable proportion of their neighbors skeptical about the practical value of books, unconvinced that the best gift which can be bestowed on a child is a maximum of schooling, and rebelliously tolerant of the law which delays the age at which children may work.

One obvious result of this absence of American tradition with regard to the supreme worth of education as preparation for life, for vocation, and for citizenship was domination of public school administration by politicians. Schools in tenement neighborhoods showed the most serious fire risks, the most antiquated and insanitary quarters, the largest number of pupils to a class, and the least efficient teaching. In congested districts of a few great cities the number of children so far exceeded school accommodations that certain grades ran in double shifts.¹ Children altogether excluded from school or attending part-time classes ranged the streets and fell into mischief. Many were prematurely pressed into industry because truant officers lost interest in attempting to deal with an impossible situation. During the nineties very nearly the most useful service that public-spirited citizens could render was to insist, in season and out, that decent and adequate school accommodations must be provided for all children.

Indeed, the power of low-grade politicians to dictate educational appointments made itself felt in the quality of public education in all parts of our cities, and pointed a lesson of solidarity between tenements and boulevards not less in education than health. The recoil of the better-to-do resulted in a reform movement, the most vital during twenty-five years of continuous effort for good municipal government, "to keep the schools out of politics." Whatever their political preferences in other matters, settlement workers joined

¹ Hull House rescued a school building from the grip of a ward heeler who had appropriated the land on which it stood as a factory site, even though the number of sittings were insufficient to accommodate all children in the ward. College Settlement, New York, when an unusually large number of first-grade children were denied admission to public school, made itself responsible for the grade, providing room and teacher.

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hands to secure the election of high-minded men and women as school officials.

In a number of instances residents were appointed or elected to central school boards,¹ and in New York some became local school trustees. A committee of these trustees had power to appoint and remove teachers and janitors, to contract for supplies, and to engage buildings. Such power was, however, so much abused that settlements took an active part in securing a law which relieved local school boards of the largest part of their administrative work. Many residents continued to serve on the reconstituted advisory groups.

The public educational system presupposes that all children live under American standards. Actually, however, a large number of boys and girls were underfed, underclothed, and ungroomed. Painful and debilitating physical defects were permitted to develop into grave illnesses. Many parents, far from being able to help their children in home studies, often found themselves puzzled, nonplussed, and humiliated before problems set by their offspring. Sometimes a child's infatuation for the teacher even made fathers and mothers jealous and subtly antagonistic toward the school.

Residents discovered a proportion of boys and girls, by no means small numerically, who were far from securing full advantage of the educational opportunities theoretically open to them. Children who should have been in school were constantly met at home or on the street. Investigation brought to light a variety of more or less valid excuses. Immigrants often claimed to be and possibly were ignorant of the compulsory education law. Certain children were excluded from school because they lacked birth or vaccination certificates. Others, in defiance of law, were kept at home to help carry on the housework, to wait in small stores, and to assist in sweatshops. A number of boys were chronic truants. Their absence often so far improved order in the class rooms that already overworked teachers were not averse to its continuance. The

¹ Miss Addams was a member of the Chicago school board during the troublous years of transition which preceded the superintendency of Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, and was instrumental with others in introducing a number of enlargements of public school service and in endeavoring to bring about a constructive, progressive, and harmonious administration. Cornelia F. Bradford, founder of Whittier House and dean of settlement workers in New Jersey, in 1911 was made a member of the Jersey City Board of Education.

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settlement group met these difficulties by explaining the law to parents, taking on themselves the task of securing birth certificates, sending children to dispensaries and clinics to be vaccinated, providing clothing or shoes needed to make them presentable. So far as school administration was concerned they strongly urged an annual school census.

It was perhaps inevitable in the beginning that the truant officer should limit his efforts to tracing children who were reported to him, but it soon became evident that a more resourceful type of treatment for truancy was needed.¹ In several instances a resident became truant officer and demonstrated how much more complete such service could be when reinforced by knowledge which living in the neighborhood affords. Such experience hastened the evolution of the officer from a narrow-minded and generally negative beadle to a neighborhood worker interested in discovering and intercepting causes of delinquency.

In districts where parents are obviously unable to meet their implied obligations to the school, residents, while striving to quicken family responsibility and initiative, provide temporary substitutes. The settlement library or living room is put at the service of boys and girls who cannot find place or quiet to study at home, with someone on hand to assure order and give help; while those behind in their studies are formed into groups and carried over difficulties until they catch up with classmates. Libraries, recreation centers, and schools in large cities now make increasing provision for these needs.

Hungry and anemic children whose physical weakness is a drag on their intellectual progress may easily lose the best part of what education should give. In all tenement neighborhoods a certain proportion leave home without breakfast, or lack an adequate luncheon. As early as 1894 Starr Center and College Settlement in Philadelphia began the sale of nourishing food and drink in penny portions to pupils of a nearby school. A careful study of homes was made and the reason for actual cases of underfeeding sought. The experiment, which attracted widespread attention, led houses in other cities to study their local problem more in-

¹The first compulsory attendance law was passed in Massachusetts in 1852. The first truant officers were appointed in 1873.

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tensely. In 1901 Henry Street Settlement set out to discover as definitely as possible the number of neighborhood children in need of food. So many cases came to light that it offered to organize a system of penny lunches provided the Board of Education would guarantee expense of maintenance. Difficulties in the way of public action were insuperable, and a voluntary association was formed and food put on sale at a number of schools. In several instances lunches were prepared at nearby settlements, and cases of underfeeding followed up and treated as a family problem. Robert Hunter's *Poverty*, published in December, 1904, and John Spargo's *Bitter Cry of the Children*, in 1906, drew public attention to the realities of undernourishment.

Settlement residents, however, are very far from agreeing that because some children are undernourished all should be fed at a municipal refectory. It seems clear that the need of school feeding is overstated by its extreme advocates, and that in any case money and energy expended in providing school lunches would be better devoted to meeting family problems which produce undernourishment. Investigation shows a wide range of causes, poverty usually not being the most important.¹

While exceptional conditions which obtain in a great port of entry like New York City may at times create so many underfed children that they must be helped by direct, though none the less superficial, action, the long-range logic of family and neighborhood organization calls for an exhaustive program to reach the roots of the evil. In Boston both the possibility and practicability of bringing helpful influences to bear on the entire number of families throughout the city, from which undervitalized children come, have been demonstrated by settlements. More definitely than any other example which might be selected, the undernourished child marks the failure of industry and of the family to live up to their

¹ Working mothers who are forced to go from home before their children rise in the morning, leave a few pennies with which to buy breakfast and lunch. Many children spend this money early in the day for candy, pastry, cake, and other highly spiced and not very nourishing foods. Some go breakfastless to school because they awake nauseated after a restless night spent in a hermetically sealed room with several other people or because the food provided is unpalatable. Many make a breakfast of cake, tea, coffee, and other equally unsubstantial fare. Very often, indeed, the ultimate cause of undernourishment resides in a low standard of home-making rather than in financial inability to buy nourishing food.

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underlying contract with the public educational system. That a responsible father cannot earn enough to provide food, lodging, and clothing for wife and children is a challenge primarily to organizers of industry. That a mother should have come to her duties so ignorant and incapable as not to be able to feed and clothe her children and keep them reasonably clean and healthy, is a challenge to education and the traditions upon which civilization rests. That a widow with small children should endeavor to be both wage-earner and mother of the household is a reflection on communal foresight. Poverty from such causes is so great a disgrace to industrial state and educational system alike that it must be treated not by palliatives, but by whatever broad educational and legislative measures may be necessary to secure a wholesome result.

School lunch committees in large cities now justify their work less on the basis of starved children and more on the need of all growing boys and girls for mid-morning and mid-afternoon nourishment. Recent studies made by educators and dietitians indicate that many children need a greater bulk of food than has been commonly thought, and that the human system responds more happily to lunches between meals than to excess at table. If this theory turns out to be sound, there is definite reason for serving food at school under wise and proper arrangements.

Sick children whose parents lacked intelligence or resource to give them proper care enlisted the efforts of residents from the beginning. School boys and girls were taken to hospitals, clinics, and dental infirmaries; fitted with glasses, shoes, and braces; nursed through periods of physical weakness and decline. Every settlement group also finds itself forced to meet the needs of those who while not incapacitated are chronically ailing. Many of these pupils, intellectually bright and personally winning, bloom for a time but to be carried off by disease or to fade into mental and physical incapacity. Only gradually did residents learn how vast a tribute working-class families pay to the great white plague; it was still longer before they saw ways of escape.

The discovery made available early in the new century that consumption may be arrested by means of pure air, nourishing food, warm clothing, rest, mental occupation, and refreshment led to the

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establishment at Providence, Rhode Island, in January, 1908, of an open-air class for children predisposed to the disease. Settlements in several cities at once offered to call upon parents, explain the nature of medical treatment, and supply requisite wraps and food provided the school authorities would organize such classes. In a few instances they conducted outdoor classes until these were taken over by school authorities.¹

Passing beyond merely physical limitation, city neighborhoods show a certain proportion of apparently healthy and well-nourished boys and girls to whom school experience counts for surprisingly little toward effective life. Residents sought knowledge and experience from teachers, truant officers, and principals to help the backward and delinquent. On their part teachers began to ask assistance for pupils in need of encouragement or discipline or who were suffering from brutal treatment at home or lack of parental care.

The causes of certain often reappearing forms of difficulty were found to reside in home and neighborhood conditions. Many parents to all intents and purposes relinquished control of even small children and had to be convinced that boys and girls must be called to order, their time accounted for, and regular provision made for sleeping, eating, and study. So many demoralizing conditions came to light that the need to strengthen local tradition as to what constitutes proper parental surveillance was unmistakable.

In 1905 Mary E. McDowell induced the Chicago Women's Club to guarantee the salary of a resident to serve as social secretary in a local school. During the same year Mary Marot in New York devoted herself to searching out ways through which parents and homes might reinforce and supplement the educational aim of the school. She spent the winter studying conditions in several cities, and in the spring of 1906 undertook in Hartley House neighborhood what has come to be known as home and school visiting. In the fall a small committee of four settlement residents was or-

¹ Greenwich House attempted to secure use of the roof of a neighborhood bathhouse as an outdoor school (1908); and when this plan failed, carried on an outdoor vacation school during the summer of 1909 in the settlement's rear yard. Hull House opened a small outdoor school in one of its buildings, which was later taken over and developed by the Elizabeth McCormick Fund. In Boston, Elizabeth Peabody House provided required outer clothing and luncheons, and carried on home visiting for an open-air school.

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ganized,¹ and such visiting was carried on from Hartley House and College Settlement.

The home and school visitor is, as it were, a nurse practising in the moralities. It is impossible for anyone who has not in some measure experienced the full reality of life in a congested neighborhood to know the amount of cruelty and corruption which may at least be latent in it, the number of individuals and families who seem to find cover for shameful actions amid a loose aggregation of resourceless people. Restraints suggested by a responsible body of neighbors, effect on business and other relations of conduct too outrageous, constant correction to impulse which comes of participation in the life of different homes and in general neighborhood events, these forms of deterrent often largely disappear in tenement districts. In many instances the mere fact that a school visitor knows what is going on is enough to effect a certain protection for child life. Where it does not, the aid of child-saving agencies, juvenile courts, and, in metropolitan cities, courts of domestic relations, is secured.

These weaknesses of the tenement home in its implied educational partnership with the public school do not require the creation of machinery to do the work of families, but its very opposite. Lack of necessary resources and intelligence for the physical upbringing of children and frequent absence of all educational capacity and interest on the part of parents demand the kind of public assistance that will develop family powers to a point where members are equal to the strain put upon them. In every community a certain proportion of adults are only too anxious to be relieved of responsibility that can be delegated. School nurse, school visitor, school lunch, community study room, can be used so as to perpetuate the very need they are set to heal. Residents have in general no sympathy with efforts which may minimize the responsibility of parents. Even though the child might temporarily gain, a supposition generally at variance with facts, experience in summering and wintering with fathers and mothers makes it evident that adult

¹ In January, 1907, the informal committee allied itself with the Public Education Association, which has since maintained several definitely appointed school visitors. In 1913 visitors were made part of the regular force of the schools. From New York the idea thus fully worked out has spread to other cities.

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life, relieved of the fullest care of children, would become so poor and mean as to imperil civilization itself.

The kindergarten, when settlements came on the scene, had proved its right to inclusion within the public school system. Residents quite generally during the nineties, almost as soon as they had established kindergartens, set about having them adopted by boards of education. This step was often hastened by the settlement's contributing, for a time, rent and janitor service. More often still, people of the neighborhood were induced to ask that such instruction might be provided under public auspices.¹

Acquaintance with an ever-growing variety of types of handicapped children shut out from the benefit of education, including the blind, deaf, crippled, anemic, and feeble-minded, convinced settlement residents that public education must be organized to include these also in its ministrations. Classes were formed for one or more of these several groups at a few houses. Admission to already established schools was obtained wherever possible. A pioneer ungraded class for mentally deficient children, begun in 1900 by Elizabeth Farrell, had the assistance of Henry Street Settlement, which provided during the stage of getting started, special equipment, medical treatment, luncheons, and home visitors. In 1906 a separate department under the directorship of Miss Farrell was created by the school board.

The example furnished by settlement classes in handwork and home-making, while not an original influence, has been very considerable in its effect upon the public school system.² In several cities the first tangible step was gained through the introduction of such subjects into a vacation school under the joint auspices of settlement and school board; though more often the settlement set out to secure their adoption directly into the winter curriculum. In certain instances, among which are North Bennet Street Indus-

¹ In like manner the college extension classes in science, literature, and art in several cities had an important part in bringing about the establishment of public evening high schools. See Chapter XII, *The Educational Approach*, for fuller discussion.

² The pioneering experiments of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, Boston, and the Sloyd Training School, both initiated by Mrs. Quincy Shaw, and some of the classes started by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York, served as suggestions to the settlements.

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trial School and Greenwich House, neighborhood houses maintain classes in handwork which are attended by children from the public school grades. Responsibility for the continuance of housekeeping apartments and home-making centers begun by settlements has occasionally been assumed by public authorities. Public school instruction in cooking and home-making is increasingly given in cottages or tenements modeled on those established by settlements.

The keynote of settlement educational enterprise, definite and detailed training in association, still awaits public adoption. School cities and student self-government, though admirable in themselves, do not give the same opportunity for working under direction within an intimate circle which the club affords. The heart of the problem pedagogically considered, is not the degree of self-direction accorded to children, but the amount of intensive and supervised drill within a round of basic situations. Experience demonstrates that behind all experiments in self-government must be wise and strong adult control. The very existence of juvenile self-direction necessarily calls for a still deeper personal influence over children during and outside of school hours.

Settlements have sought above all else to create in their vicinage a relation between school and neighborhood such as that which obtains under representative American influences. In many working-class communities the teaching force is unhappily deprived of the discussion and sympathetic co-operation of those among its ranks who marry and gauge the school anew through its results on their own offspring. Its members recognize that their class room service would be greatly strengthened by accurate knowledge about family and neighborhood life. A considerable number of these teachers who confess a sense of being more strangers than they should be in the community in which they hold office have joined house staffs for a greater or less period. In 1906 Julia Richman,¹ an able and widely known supervisor of instruction, opened in the lower East Side what was chiefly a residence for unattached teachers. The house quickly became a center for conference on school and community relations and attracted an influential following among teachers. In several instances settlements have been established by associations of school teachers.

¹ Died in 1912.

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Experience suggests that the school should be quick to take account of neighborhood demand for particular forms of education, whether manual training, elementary evening classes, or house-keeping, while seeking to stimulate interest in subjects intrinsically worthy but for which there is no ready-made demand. Not a few local school administrators have endeavored to create cultural units like those of settlement craft guilds, music schools, local art centers, through which such interests may find permanent expression. A conviction first expressed by residents is gaining ground that school principals and at least a moderate proportion of teachers should be required by law to make their homes in communities which they serve.

While the program thus outlined seems to reach some distance into the future, first stages toward its realization are steadily being worked out. Teachers, principals, and school board members are asked to address gatherings of parents and neighbors. Home and school associations make parents acquainted with teachers and with one another. Public school alumni associations enlist the loyalty and capacity of graduates. Here and there, principals, some of the most resourceful of whom have been educated in settlements, have organized associations of parents and citizens to lend a hand in dealing with problems such as slackness in study, truancy, indifference or extreme need at home. As the new generation of parents come to have the same general education as those who teach their children, and are able to join forces deliberately and effectively, a right balance between school and home will be restored.

CHAPTER XXVI

RECREATION

NO ELEMENT of their environment more impressed early residents than its unfitness to protect the spontaneity of young life. The home had become so contracted and its resources so limited that it was no longer possible for children to play there. By multiplication of apartments in a building, the disappearance of rear yards, and the distance that separated rooms from the street or yard, children who played out of doors were removed altogether from the watchful care of their mothers. The necessity for them to be quick, bold, and resourceful to escape injury nourished a kind of nervous brightness which produced the unhappy forwardness so characteristic of tenement quarters. Lack of traditional forms of play enterprise which carry participants into other homes left boys and girls increasingly out of touch with the true pattern of family life. The settlement program for meeting this problem is based on the age-long process of family and neighborhood guardianship.

The case for public libraries as elements in municipally provided recreation was thoroughly proved before the day of settlements in this country. In some instances branches were already established in districts which in themselves were as large as cities. Neighborhood libraries, chiefly under church auspices, were not infrequent, but their use was limited in effect to a few. Settlements very generally offered their books to anyone who desired to borrow. In states where public aid was available, application was made for a subsidy, and in a considerable number of instances these collections were, after a few years, absorbed into the rapidly growing system of branch public libraries. Settlement libraries tend, therefore, to become sub-district or neighborhood institutions. No large city as yet has a sufficient number of branches conveniently placed.

It was evident, however, that physically active recreation, under

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wholesome conditions, was needed for both children and youth, even more than the opportunity to read. Stanton Coit set out to induce the owners of tenements in a congested block to consent to the removal of fences and the creation of a yard where children could play under the eyes of their mothers. The project failed, though the idea was worked out later in connection with model tenements. Practically all settlements established during the nineties opened their rear yards as playgrounds. It seems almost a quaint reflection that during most of that decade these little areas furnished a considerable proportion of the supervised play spaces in large cities.

The chief purpose of such ventures was to hasten the establishment of permanent neighborhood playgrounds. Although the public playground movement slightly antedates the founding of settlements, the two decades between 1890 and 1910 constituted the period of pioneering. Public spirit encompassed parks, whether in or out of town, but not playgrounds. Its vision was of a quiet oasis of grass, flowerbeds, and shrubs enclosed by a spiked fence and guarded by a policeman. To park directors and the majority of well-to-do citizens even the idea of children in connection with such an ensemble was abhorrent. It took a decade to convince the community that play is a physical and moral necessity to growing boys and girls and justifies some real measure of loss in actual and potential vegetation.

During these years representatives of settlements united with other citizens striving to secure downtown playgrounds, in a number of instances themselves organizing voluntary associations to agitate for municipal action. Among leaders in such work, Charles B. Stover stands out as a force whose influence has been nationwide. His broad outlook, his insight and sympathy with children and young people, his willing self-sacrifice, and his capacity for long, hard, sustained, and undiscouraged battle with sloth, misunderstanding, malice, and plain stupidity place him among inspired public servants of his generation. For nearly a decade he formed playground associations, argued before successive legislatures, pleaded with city officials and politicians, and forced a recreation park department to turn land secured for playgrounds to

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Once the principle of municipally owned and controlled play spaces was established, settlements set out to secure, by appeal to neighborhood and city, at least one municipal playground in their neighborhood; and within a few years after the opening of the century in many city districts such spaces had been gained. Management, once land is secured, constitutes an important and difficult problem. Early municipal playgrounds as part of that inevitable evolution through which all public administration passes were managed inflexibly and without vision. Schedules of times and seasons were at first fixed more to suit the convenience of caretakers than to fulfil the needs of children and young people. Politically appointed employes made the atmosphere and standards of areas under their control uninviting to children and especially hospitable to fellows of the baser sort. In some instances grounds were a source of moral nuisance. It soon became obvious that play spaces should be administered by educators. In certain cities, therefore, residents united to place their direction under boards of education. Parallel with this move they attempted to induce parents to become acquainted with supervisors, and to find ways of encouraging the fullest and best use of the playground.

In cities where there is a suitable approach to river, lake, or ocean, settlements have shared in efforts to provide facilities for swimming. Ample and well-equipped bathing beaches have become a recognized phase of municipal service. Failing such opportunity, settlements have in many cases brought about construction of indoor and outdoor swimming pools.

The gymnasium is an indoor playground. The first municipal effort had its origin in a disused skating rink, purchased by a public-spirited Boston woman and lent to a district athletic association. In 1896 the association, finding difficulty in meeting operating expenses and knowing that the city authorities were considering a public bath for the district, prevailed upon the owner to present the building to the municipality. These negotiations were facilitated by a settlement representative on the Public Bath Commission, who foresaw that more districts would clamor for like equipment. From Boston the municipal gymnasium spread to other cities and has gradually come to be accepted as an integral phase of well-developed public recreation.

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The considerable increase in health and vigor shown by children under the ministrations of the settlement gymnastic director next constituted a clear call for the introduction of physical education into the public school system. Since 1905 settlements have asked, whenever the erection of new school buildings was called for in their neighborhoods, that provision for indoor play be made. Some have been able to obtain evening use of school gymnasiums for employed boys by organizing classes which meet under leadership of the settlement instructor. Gradually, corrective exercise and games have come to be included as part of the recreational scheme of evening schools and recreation centers.

The gymnasium even more than the playground, demands highly skilled and resourceful leadership. Very few adults and only a small proportion of children and young people are spontaneously interested in constructive exercises and setting-up drills. The municipal gymnasium when carried on under politically appointed leadership, cannot reach them. In some cities its limited use is creating a recoil on the part of taxpayers against heavy cost of maintenance with small return. Success lies in spirited leadership, a program involving games, dancing, drilling, and tournaments under a measure of self-government and self-direction such as is being worked out at the best organized settlements.

Measured against the universal availability to country children of recreation provided by back yards, barns, attics, and swimming holes, municipal devices are insufficient in quantity. The majority of playgrounds so far established have been expected to serve a district or sub-district rather than a neighborhood. Placed in the center of large populations it was thought that children would come to them from a distance. Their use has been limited to boys and a small proportion of girls between ten and sixteen years of age.

The suggestion that certain less traveled streets be reserved as playgrounds during the late afternoons, first made from Greenwich House, New York, was an effort to increase space for free play. Whether the community will or no, the street is the child's natural playground. Little boys and girls between five and eleven years play within a block of their homes. They crave the sense of nearness to a base, and their mothers desire them to be within call. The community must recognize a child's right, under city condi-

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tions, to a definite share of the public highways for play. Where necessary, automobile and traffic routes must be established and children warned away from them. The play-street gives effect to the principle that inhabitants on the block, not less than those who pass through it, have a vested interest in its opportunities. The Settlement believes that until we have sufficient free areas either in rear yards, inner courts between buildings, or protected surface on roofs, the city can hardly be thought of as equipped in any real sense for the nurture of children.

The chief task of the neighborhood play organizer is to teach games to a few groups, who can then be trusted to pass them on to other children. It is quite possible to have a too stereotyped program and to create a situation fatal to a child's initiative and conscious self-direction. The real success of a settlement game room is the extent to which activities taught there are reproduced upon the streets. Club directors have on their calendars an extensive list of seasonal games, and themselves take the initiative in starting one or another of them if the street play of children seems laggard and resourceless. This is another point at which the plan of inducing a neighborhood to fulfil its life can be fostered by the interposition of a slight amount of professional service.

A day's work carries the implication, especially with working boys and girls, that reward in the shape of gaiety in association is their due. The most desired amusements, because they involve music and supervision, are costly, and the amount of money at command is not usually sufficient to pay charges of a reasonable amount of commercialized recreation. The settlement throws decided emphasis upon the sound recreative by-product of immediate local responsibilities and loyalties. While the pleasures that grow out of country occupations do not appear under city conditions, young people manage to secure a good deal of fun and romance from their work. They come to know a variety of human beings, younger and older as well as contemporary, and find their way into varied circles. They take part in the group enterprises so general in large manufacturing and commercial establishments. Indeed, many young girls regard their working hours as the most satisfactory of the day.

Settlements situated among factories definitely seek to promote

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fellowship and well-being among employed girls and women. The stamp-savings visitor introduces her clients in each factory to one another. Certain houses maintain a lunch room where warm food is sold at cost; others provide a stove for heating food, and tables where lunches brought from home may be eaten. Several arrange a half hour of dancing at noon for those who crave physical outlet for their spirits, and form clubs which meet at the close of work for supper and a program. Some of the true essence of welfare work is thereby brought into the local industrial atmosphere, often, though by no means always, with assent and co-operation of employers. Settlements in such ways help to make clear the fund of human interest and capacity for loyalty which working people might contribute, under proper encouragement, to the organization and up-building of industry.

A large share of the group life of working-class localities, by the simple expedient of controlling all the halls available for parties and similar gatherings, has heretofore been managed by saloonkeepers. Taking advantage of that innate instinct of people to get something for nothing, the use of these rooms was generally offered without cost or at a nominal charge, with the understanding that liquid refreshments would be liberally ordered. Trade unions and club meetings, dances and wedding parties were often burdened and disgraced by results of this alliance.

There are few factors in equipment more needed in the majority of working class localities than rooms which can be rented at a reasonable charge for parties, lectures, concerts, and other gatherings. At present many groups that would ordinarily hold their meetings within the neighborhood, go outside either because there is no accommodation or because the local hall is dingy and disagreeable and seems to degrade rather than uplift those who come together within its walls.

For many years a telling argument for enlarged settlement quarters was the want of an adequate neighborhood meeting place absolutely separated from sale of liquor. The need of the East Side of New York for rooms that could be rented at a reasonable charge for parties and meetings led Miss Wald to organize a company which in 1904 erected Clinton Hall. In view of the importance of association in a democratic state, it would seem as though the com-

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munity might well undertake to provide meeting places at cost, or less.

Drama and motion pictures are among the most important recreational instruments in local communities, although vaudeville, melodrama, and burlesque are still to be met with in downtown districts. Theater managers who deliberately set out to purvey salaciousness still have to be combated. Buyers of this sort of fare do not, however, come from one neighborhood, but are a special type drawn from all over the city. Apparently little more can be done than to keep the menace under a varying measure of control.

Although the cheap local theater was not of this degraded sort, its metamorphosis into the motion picture house is sure gain. The latter for a modest sum supplies an hour of adventure, romance, fun, song, music, and current allusion. Never before has so considerable a time unit of intensive interest been offered for so little money. Among the vast multitudes of people young and old everywhere who take advantage of this boon, the chief concern is lest many go too often.

Motion picture shows, especially those given in cheaply converted stores, were at first viewed by social workers with grave suspicion on grounds of inadequate fire protection, bad air, evil suggestion in the story on the screen, and moral dangers presented by darkened houses. The crude mechanism of the original apparatus, moreover, created such severe eyestrain that motion picture habitués could be told by distorted facial muscles. The variety performers secured by the proprietors of small houses to fill intervals in the flow of scenes necessarily come from among the least successful members of that class, hence those most given to gaining a hearing through low appeal. The double effort to stir in the minds of local proprietors some of that enlightened self-interest which more or less moves large producers, and to secure the passage of police regulations to safeguard tone, affords the only effective means of relief. Individual settlements, in a number of instances, have been able to induce local exhibitors to consent to a limited degree of informal censorship.

The increased mechanical efficiency of picture machines and films has greatly reduced the importance of vaudeville and promises shortly to do away with the need for individual performers. The

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moral problem connected with the show tends increasingly to be focused on the screen. Unfortunately a considerable proportion of films put out are doubtful fare for adults and wholly unfit for young people and children.¹ Settlement residents had an important share in creating the public opinion that brought about establishment of the voluntary National Board of Censorship. There is a growing conviction among them of the need for further action, in which organized public sentiment and public authority shall join to secure a distinctly higher standard.

The struggle with commercialized recreation, however, only the more called for measures to provide ennobling cheer and joy. Residents recollected the evening use of the "little red school house" for spelling-bees, singing classes, lectures, institutes, and political meetings.² Initial attack was made on educational authorities by repeated though often ineffectual requests that the use of school halls be granted for alumni gatherings, parents' associations, neighborhood picture exhibits, and similar cultural enterprises. Gradually, rulings were secured which permitted use of class rooms or halls, but under very decided restriction and guarantees and on payment of fees so substantial as to constitute almost a penalty. These, however, were cheerfully accepted in order to demonstrate the fact that there was a strong popular demand for the privilege. New York was the first city to open the schools definitely for recreation. In 1897 the Board of Education, as a result of efforts set in motion by the Public Education Association, permitted the use of a number of rooms for boys' clubs on certain evenings when the building was open for classes.³

A step in advance was taken in 1903 by a group of Boston citi-

¹ Freedom to express all sides of life, including the vicious and degraded, should certainly not be extended to houses which cater to boys and girls. The considerable number of films which in effect glorify crime under guise of adventure, and lust under cloak of romance, are having a serious undermining effect upon moral standards of the coming generation.

² The establishment in 1889 by the Board of Education of popular lectures in the schools of New York marks the official beginnings of the broader utilization of school buildings in the metropolitan cities.

³ Winifred Buck, now Mrs. Lawrence F. Abbott, a successful leader of boys' club work at Neighborhood Guild and a member of the association, was the moving spirit in this experiment. She was helped by a number of settlement youths, former club members, who became volunteer leaders in the clubs thus established.

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zens who induced the school board to grant the use of two basement rooms in a school house as a meeting place for a neighborhood club of young working boys. The salary of a director and incidental costs were paid by subscription. In 1905 the Chicago Women's Club and University of Chicago Settlement established a series of afternoon clubs and classes covering a variety of interests and activities in a public school, paying the city the customary fixed charges for the use of rooms. Later, meetings of parents and of alumni, together with occasional lectures and entertainments, were arranged for evenings. This single experiment proved the case for school centers in Chicago. About the same time several other cities, as the result of twenty years of settlement precept and example, introduced into their school systems informal evening classes to meet the indoor leisure-time interests of adolescents.¹

The first official school centers were placed under leadership of the regular teaching staff. But the experience and traditions of school teachers go far to unfit them to meet the unfamiliar and exacting demands of educational recreation. Special adaptability and training, an easy personal approach, power to guide by suggestion, and a measure of broad community insight must be carefully sought out if the vital purpose of this new branch of public service is to be fulfilled.²

The school center labors under some very decided disadvantages from the point of view of sound neighborhood organization. Its term is a short one, varying from four to seven months. There is no vital principle of continuity in its administration. The majority of clubs and classes disintegrate when the season ends. Influences set in motion within the building are hardly ever followed up in terms of neighborhood relations. Settlements are therefore little inclined to give up efforts through which groups under their auspices are securing the fruits of long common acquaintance under a high grade of volunteer leadership for the uncertain promise of public alternative.

¹ The Rochester school centers, established in 1907 by Edward J. Ward, focused public attention and made the evening use of school property a national interest.

² A number of settlement executives and department leaders have become supervisors in departments of education and directors and assistants in particular centers for the purpose of helping to work out an adequate and satisfactory technique of school center administration.

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Experience shows that the right ordering of life in every considerable tenement neighborhood requires a library, playground, gymnasium, assembly hall, rooms for continuous association by groups, and qualified leadership for such varied enterprise. Utilization of school buildings in more or less partial and provisional ways precipitated the question of full municipal responsibility. Chicago placed herself in advance of all other cities by bringing these various instruments of association and recreation together in small parks in the heart of appropriate downtown districts of the city.¹ Los Angeles, largely under the influence of Bessie D. Stoddart of the College Settlement, soon followed the example of Chicago with a further application of settlement logic in the shape of a dwelling for directors and associates, who thus become in the full sense neighbors.

In most cities as yet neither attitude nor funds exist for such development and massing of local recreation resources. As a rule settlements in advancing this general motive have to secure each unit as the municipality can be induced to provide it, placed where exigency dictates. In a few instances public opinion has gradually been crystallized in favor of erecting school building, bath-house, gymnasium, library, as they are successfully secured, on lots overlooking a local park or playground. In this way beautiful and significant, as well as co-ordinated and convenient, centers of neighborhood life are created.

For all varied municipal undertakings that have their origin in its experiments the settlement has important responsibilities which it must endeavor to meet systematically and continuously. The school center, playground center, district town hall, as each begins to have really organic relations, will be in increasing need of devoted and enlightened leaders; and will have to face on an increasing scale the same problem of administration, the same continuous necessity of securing interest and response, the same double compulsion to check the counteracting forces of evil and to rally the collective initiative of the well-intentioned but inert rank and file which have all along confronted the settlement.

As against such a situation it is too often true that public administrators are prone to consider themselves chiefly guardians

¹ A clause in the city charter allows the park commission to assess taxes directly.

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of the people's places, without power to initiate or direct. Appointments have a way of reverting to politics, with the usual effects. Lack of imagination and grasp on the part of superintendents and employees registers itself in the behavior of those who attend. Unless a positive degree of conduct is insisted on, it is very difficult for officials in charge to enforce anything more than a police standard, within which everyone is free to act as he will. A certain number, by refined rowdyism, can disrupt or degrade a gathering and be entirely within their legal rights; public opinion can thus be all but set aside. Worst of all, public recreation centers of all sorts fail to foster the gentler, more artistic, and non-resistive groups. The influence of this less forceful and more spiritually minded class is powerful where it has free play, but it is likely to withdraw when offended. The community, however, loses heavily by its failure to obtain the contribution of such persons to the common life.

In the middle of its fourth decade the settlement has demonstrated the living interest among city working people in art, science, letters, association and self-expressive recreation; it has successfully organized these pursuits apart from saloons and the commercial recreation places, and has made a good beginning toward bringing them under the protection of family, church, school, and state. The mere standardization of certain elements in its procedure, however important, it cannot regard as fulfilment of its motive. It is determined to keep the finer human influences alive and fluid in the only menstrum where a popular culture can exist, the neighborhood. Given equipment of local park, playground, gymnasium, evening school, theater, art museum, there still remains the need of a keenly alert resident group with the training and traditions which will supply just the sort of impulse that constantly makes the distinctions between fruitage, stagnation, and degeneracy. It is hardly to be expected that municipalities will at first be able to command the best type of leadership or even to be conscious of the need of it; and settlements must continue to supply persons of skill, vision, and patience who will act in suggestive co-operation with representatives of the city in these new endeavors.

Recreation in the large for the local community is the potential culmination of a broadened and enriched scheme of life toward which, on all sides, the settlement strives. Health, morals, intelli-

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gence, conduce to such overflow of spirit as finds its expression in play, which in turn tends to bring those great values to their higher and surer levels. To the settlement, recreation is not merely the recoil from stress and strain of labor done nor preparation for burdens waiting to be borne, and certainly not merely a counter-irritant to lower impulses, but a way to the liberation and exaltation of life. It therefore holds steadfastly before local, municipal, and even commercial enterprise the higher standards that begin to be adopted and embodied by its own loyal companies, and hopes that a quite vital local recreational scheme may arise which shall be composed of the things that are pure and lovely and of good report.

CHAPTER XXVII

WARTIME REGIMEN

WELL-BEING and morale, as community concepts, were greatly emphasized by the coming on of the war. Even before the United States entered the conflict there were disturbing conditions which stirred the sense of local responsibility. Settlements found themselves, on the basis of past experience, in exceptionally good position to meet the special distress of the winter of 1914-1915. The immediate magnetizing of different immigrant groups toward the interests of their respective fatherlands and the presence of ever-widening alien propaganda, as it gave ground for intense public concern, opened the way to a strong, because tolerant, patriotic response on the part of the settlements.

Yet when the United States finally joined forces with the Allies, it was for a time an open question, amid the general and sudden recasting of national purpose, whether the settlements should not prepare either greatly to reduce their forces or even to suspend operations altogether. Ere long, word came first from Canada and then from England, that after a short period of similar doubt residents and public alike agreed upon the necessity of reinforcing neighborhood work as one of the most important means of maintaining national vitality and spirit. From this time, though steadily losing their young men, settlements gathered their remaining forces and recruited them when possible, so as to confront the variety of ominous problems which the war was projecting into their neighborhoods; and, what was even more important, to elicit local energies in many old and new ways as suggested by the principle, "the nation at war."

Communities in which there was a settlement soon realized that the house had the experience, equipment, and seasoned leadership which the local phases of the crisis demanded. It was always on duty. Not to duplicate existing efforts, not to go over the heads of

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established local authority, had become habitual to it. It had even learned to give absorbing attention to the creation of a new undertaking and then quickly to turn the task over to other hands.

The great emergency, therefore, tested under stress the instruments which had been forged in peace. The most striking fact about the settlements was the ability of their staffs to furnish not a few but scores of different types of assistance asked by the general government or by privately organized national services. A large proportion of houses participated in more than eighty of the hundred or more kinds of war work that were developed and at least twoscore varieties of service were carried on by all. This adjustment, it should be remembered, was made in most cases by staffs diminished through enlistment of members in the military forces and in centrally organized war agencies.

In 1914 and 1915, on the basis of much general experience in meeting insinuations and establishing new traditions, settlements were ready to meet the spread of German propaganda. Upon the declaration of war in 1917, literature explaining the purpose of the nation's joining with the Allies was distributed. Frequent public meetings were held, with addresses in the language of immigrant groups. Talks in series were arranged at many houses, and maps, posters, photographs, and other memoranda of the struggle continuously displayed. Best of all, and most universal, the American attitude and motive were made clear through countless personal conversations at settlement headquarters, up and down the street, and in the homes of the people.

Responsible surveillance is likewise a function in which settlements had the advantage of location, experience, and resource. They gave skilled assistance in making up a census of non-English speaking people, in registering men of military age, in discovering enemy aliens, and in securing information for public or semi-public agencies associated with the prosecution of the war. As demand for women's services in wartime industries increased, lists were prepared, on the basis of comprehensive inquiry, of those trained for different branches of office or factory work. Canvasses in factory districts were made to discover tenements and lodgings, room registries opened, and the facilities of local restaurants estimated.

It was the draft, bringing to immigrant people complex moral,

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economic, and sentimental problems, which went to the core of settlement relationships. At a large number of houses systematic assistance in filling out questionnaires and daily consultations about matters growing out of enlistment were given, and interpreters provided to accompany families before public boards.¹ The use of rooms and clerical help for local exemption boards was supplied, some of the most experienced men of settlement staffs rendering unremitting service as members. Legal advisory committees were organized and housed, gymnasiums employed for the first drills of drafted men, and impressive farewells arranged as recruits left for camp. In all this effort, which in some instances was prodigious in amount and in human values, settlements were in an exceptional position to learn the heart of the great body of immigrants and to give unassailable testimony that the mass of their neighbors would loyally respond to the demands of the nation. But they also exercised their indubitable right and duty in urging the government to exercise patient and considerate methods in calling the men to its service.

The whole project for protection of the morals of enlisted forces, negatively by controlling sources of evil, and positively by providing every sort of healthy outlet for the instincts not only of young men in uniform but of the young women who might so greatly help or hinder them, found the settlements at a point of established conviction and developed power. As this double purpose began to be expressed in and near great encampments, residents undertook to develop it in special ways amid their own environment. Lodging houses and low-grade hotels frequented by enlisted men were reported, dance halls investigated and where necessary complained against, and saloons and cafés put under surveillance. Common cause was made with both civil and military police toward enforcement of the law against the sale of liquor to men in uniform, and an exceptionally close understanding secured with representatives of the war and navy department in the matter of the suppression of prostitution.

On the constructive side, settlement resources were made available in the fullest degree. In not a few instances neighborhood

¹ One settlement helped more than half the men in the ward subject to draft; another made out 3,000 papers.

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houses were near armories where the first recruits were assembled. Recreational programs to meet the moral strain of the situation, to provide encouragement for young men, and wholesome expression for the intense emotional state of girls, were inaugurated. Thereafter settlements very commonly, day and evening, kept an open house for enlisted men in general. They were welcomed in library, club rooms, and living quarters, and in some instances offered sleeping accommodations; invited to parties, picnics, dances, and dinners, and given personal service of all kinds wherever needed.

As the necessity of protecting and reinforcing the homes of enlisted men appeared, settlements were seen to be the logical agencies for such work in their districts. Residents and volunteers became local representatives for home service of the Red Cross, visiting the family of every man who had joined the colors. Efforts to alleviate grievous physical want caused by delayed allowances, as well as the bitterness and humiliation of pawning and borrowing, and mental anguish caused by delay in the mail, often precipitated upon the settlement staff a heavy burden of grave family complications. These were compensated for, however, by residents coming into fuller and freer relations than ever before with the better conditioned local homes.

The passion to do something with one's hands to help American soldiers and their allies overseas was not less strong in the settlements than among the well-to-do. All girls' and women's organizations were actively interested in providing special clothing and comforts; nearly all houses conducted classes in first aid, made surgical dressings, and carried on knitting circles which worked incessantly.

The vital relation of the industrial problem to the prosecution of the war was at once felt, and effort toward securing, advising, and properly placing industrial recruits, now including farm hands, was everywhere intensified. But, thoroughly convinced that a policy of overstrain would quickly defeat its own end, besides endangering future standards, residents gave special attention to the hours and conditions of work which obtained in local factories, and urged that the full complement of labor laws be retained.

It was, however, in those universally regimented forms of war-time service which related to the entire local community that settlements most surely proved the value of their presence. When in the

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fall of 1917 Mr. Hoover asked the country to organize for the conservation of the more desirable foods, they leaped to the call. The cultivation of gardens in the city had already been systematically encouraged and many houses had co-operated in the maintenance of school plots. Farm units of young women were organized; nearly all settlements having country houses raised enough vegetables for their vacation visitors and placed an excess on sale. Neighborhood canning and preserving centers were quite generally conducted.

When the time arrived for a national roll call for food conservation, settlements were in a special position to assist. They sought to overcome the conservatism of tenement people in matters of diet by placing much stress on instruction in wartime cooking, the use of substitutes, reduction of waste, and establishment of balanced dietaries. Some houses induced schools to provide classes in cooking and lent their equipment; some organized food exhibits which were shown on streets and playgrounds. Pledge cards setting forth regulations for the use of food materials were taken from house to house, and careful explanations made of wartime ways of baking and cooking. The response was so gratifying, the educational effect so real and broad, and the approach so applicable to other than war ends that it was a matter of deep regret when Mr. Hoover's bureau failed to persist in the method of house-to-house canvass.

During the fuel scarcity in the winter of 1917 and 1918 houses in the northeastern and middle western states, where the shortage was most acute, established coal stations and helped to devise ways of lessening inconvenience and distress by proper distribution of fuel; many dispensed coal from their own bins. The number of families on the books of local stations ran from 98 to 2,600. Five hundred calls a day were made by one house during the acute period in order to make sure of equitable division. To meet the evil of fireless homes many settlements kept open house from early morning to half-past ten at night. The problem of the "idle Mondays," enjoined by the coal administration as a means of conserving fuel, led to the organization of programs of recreation and war work for children and young people.

The autumn of 1918 during the influenza epidemic saw nearly all houses turn the full energies of their staffs into caring for the neighborhood sick. They instituted special nursing service and

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secured additional trained nurses. When the supply of skilled persons ran out, residents put on masks and went into the homes of the people. In some instances neighbors volunteered their services and under settlement lead, carried on simple nursing duties.¹ A number of settlements turned their plants into hospitals for adults, children, or babies and nearby summer camps into convalescent homes. In certain instances the settlement residence was metamorphosed into an emergency home to take care of the well children of stricken households. One group of residents acted as sanitary police for a small and dangerously infected neighborhood; others undertook the work of preparing the homes of mothers about to be discharged from hospitals.

The baby-weighing and measuring campaign of the Children's Bureau in 1918 met a quick response. Settlements very generally became responsible for their own districts and often helped to organize and supervise the task in other parts of the city. The high degree of completeness which characterized the registration in settlement neighborhoods was due to the excellently organized system conducted by so many houses for the care of infant life.

In addition to the wartime services called for, settlements organized patriotic expression in several other directions in their communities. They recognized the demand to sustain financially the nation at war, not only as a clear call to patriotic duty but as a tangible means of bringing immigrant neighborhoods in their entirety squarely face to face with national necessities. The response to various appeals was, on the whole, gratifying in amount and reassuring in spirit.²

¹ Nursing visits made by the several houses varied in number from a few hundred to over 2,000. Many prepared and delivered soups and cooked food to families where there was no one to get the meals. From 150 to 1,000 meals per house were thus distributed. The hygienic washing of clothing was attended to in families where several were sick at once.

² The great majority of houses undertook stated duties in connection with the four Liberty Loans. Hull House raised \$10,000 among residents and took subscriptions for \$20,000 among its neighbors. The houses very generally sold war and transforming stamps, collecting from \$25 to \$1,000. Red Cross individual memberships were solicited, and numbers ranging from 50 to 1,000 secured. Group memberships were taken by clubs and other settlement associations, some groups giving as high as \$100. Many houses joined in the United War Work drive and raised sums into the hundreds. Clubs at several settlements supported French orphans. Various houses helped with Italian, German, Bohemian, Czech-Slovak, Jewish, and Belgian relief funds.

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The United War Work campaign, designed to give aid and comfort to all enlisted men and in which the various religious bodies so cordially united, brought settlements into a new stage of fellowship throughout the length and breadth of their city sections. To act as the means through which considerable sums were donated by neighbors to public purposes was a new experience for residents, and placed them more definitely than ever before in a position of trust among the people.

Besides pressing home patriotic demands, settlements were continuously intent on exalting the righteousness of the cause and the honor of its defenders. Rosters were kept of all local men and boys serving with the colors, and meetings organized at which their letters were read; informal visits were promoted to the homes of families having men at the front; service flags for present and former club members displayed and memorials of the dead provided. When the armistice was declared special meetings were arranged; and as enlisted men returned home each small contingent was the center of a celebration. These were the sign of a return to the prosaic reality of finding employment, in which settlements proceeded to join forces with public and private post-war agencies.

But the paramount issue to Americans before, during, and after America's part in the war, second only to that of the world conflict itself, was the building of the nation. The German onset brought the realization, with an intense feeling of shame and danger, that we were a nation only in a very imperfect sense. All settlements were stirred to a new sense of responsibility for a more coherent loyalty, including those sound affiliations old and new which should culminate in a vital Americanism based on the essential qualities which have made the country. Specifically, additional classes in English and citizenship were soon begun either in settlements or at neighborhood schools; and the subject matter was and continues to be keenly accented to promote interest in the public welfare. Regular and wartime programs were ordered so as to set forth national, political, and moral ideals.

One of the clearest results of the experience of the period is that the American spirit must find broader avenues of expression, inculcation, and confirmation.

11

VI
COMMON WILL

CHAPTER XXVIII

FAMILY OF FAMILIES

THE settlement had occasion to realize, almost from the beginning, that family life was closely and inextricably bound up with inter-family relations. The formation of street-corner gangs into clubs meant as a rule that members of each such group came from a particular block, in the sense of the section of a street cut off by two cross-streets. Personal relationship between boys and their leader brought the latter into the homes, and as gangs were absorbed from corner to corner, this experience was repeated from block to block. The intensely village atmosphere and consciousness which characterized inter-family groupings came to the earliest residents with a sense of discovery. Comparison of experience within the home with continued observation of the street made clear the necessity of patiently tracing the facts and forces of this complicated network. The cornerstone of settlement practice thus came to be continuous acquisition by the resident group of information about the infinite phases of community life.

Collection of all available published data is the first step. Census reports, national, state, and local, are searched for information about ethnic, religious, and economic status of population.¹ Various state and city departments are drawn upon to find the distribution of age groups in the population, number of public employes and school children, proportion of adolescents attending high school, death rates from tuberculosis, pneumonia, and various infants' diseases, types of house and percentage of dark rooms in tenement blocks, tendencies to disorder and crime as shown by arrests.

Physical environment is studied almost foot by foot. Location

¹ Workers of South End House secured from the poll list, as made up yearly in many cities, the name, age, occupation, present and previous residence, of citizens over twenty. It is possible to abstract from such a list a decided amount of information about nationality, race, religion, and the rate of movement of population. Take over periods of years such data yield important pictures of communities.

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of railways, canals, factories, schools, churches, stores, saloons, and amusement places is indicated on a large-scale map. The staff comes to have a clear mental picture of all streets, alleys, vacant lots, and public buildings. It knows the interior plan of dwellings and apartments. It discovers and brings under surveillance those areas which, because of convenient access to adjacent land and buildings, absence of light, or immunity to observation, are the fore-ordained stage upon which craps are played, fights arranged, robberies and assaults committed, and sexual immorality negotiated.

The social geography of the neighborhood, quite as definitely as the physical, calls for constant and minute observation. In metropolitan cities many districts in which settlements are located were once villages or towns in their own right.¹ Each such community has its traditions, memories of crime or grandeur, loyalties, shrines, heroes, men of affairs, invincible athletes, and local historians. Newspapers, aware of the curiosity and interest of people in the district in which they live, interpret public events in its terms.² The settlement household follows up closely all such references, gives careful attention to local newspapers so far as they exist, and in general collects neighborhood lore. It even manages something in the nature of archives through its scrap-books of current historical data and photographs of clubs and other organizations.

The areas inhabited by special population groups; the types of operation carried on in factories; character and skill of workers and foremen; temper of managers; shops, their proprietors and people who patronize them, are observed continuously. Local dance halls, theaters, pool-rooms, candy stores, as well as recreation resorts within and without the city, are visited; meetings of churches, political parties, trade unions; conferences of propagandists' bodies for reform and protest; casual but often significant gatherings on street corners and in kitchens, are attended whenever

¹ One has only to mention Roxbury and Charlestown in Boston; and Greenwich, Yorkville, Manhattanville, in New York.

² Two factory girls in a Boston mill became belligerent to the point of fisticuffs over the relative status of South Boston and Dorchester. The reminiscences concerning locality which occasionally appear in letter columns of newspapers reveal the wealth of emotion which people have for their native community. As an illustration, see the letters about Fort Hill and South Cove in the Boston *Herald* for June, 1914.

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possible. Ephemeral pleasure clubs and street-corner gangs, in their several degrees of development and of value to members, are studied as opportunity offers, and the multitudinous forms of leisure-time association, which make momentary vortices in the surface of the ever-moving current of local life, patiently observed. Residents are always on the lookout for indications that show how people are antagonized and how they are unified; for the shadings of like and dislike among different racial, religious, and economic groups; for hostilities and affiliations which exist within and among the personnel of offices, industries, and institutions.

The impossibility of extracting, from ward and district statistics published by city and state departments, definite information concerning the natural neighborhoods in a great district makes it necessary to gather certain forms of data by door-to-door canvass. Housing studies, surveys to discover disease and prevent its spread, inquiries into standards of living, are made by blocks.¹ The results of such experience cause settlement workers to seek in cities the tabulation by blocks or other small units of statistics covering marriages, births, disease, and deaths classified in terms of age, sex, and nationality, in order that responsible citizens may be able accurately to trace currents of life which so vitally affect homes and neighborhoods. Only through such a system can crime, drunkenness, feeble-mindedness, pauperism, and prostitution be charged to the place of its origin.²

Study and graphic representation of local facts is to the neighborhood organizer what a clinical chart is to a physician. The mere statement on a map of details about a territory almost always reveals significant connections between personalities and environment. Communities often fail to comprehend the meaning of back eddies of civilization existing in their midst. An alley, a pocket court, or

¹ Residents of South End House in 1897 induced the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to appropriate a sum of money with which to draw off facts about nationality in the South End by blocks from the recently taken state census. Special data were obtained by detailed examination of police calendars, court records, school census, books of private agencies. The widening use of this method influenced the director of the federal census of 1910 to tabulate census data for large cities by small local units. Hull House, University of Chicago Settlement, University Settlement, New York, and Kingsley House, New Orleans, made important block studies in fighting typhoid and tuberculosis.

² See Woods, R. A.: "Unit Accounting in Social Work," American Statistical Association publications, n. s., Vol. XIII, pp. 361-66, March, 1913.

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a few tenements sometimes attract a group of sick souls who become active sources of contagion. Such nests can be disintegrated only by turning the searchlight upon them; by piling up evidence of one abomination after another that flourishes in them.

Many settlement studies grow out of the immediate necessity of illuminating a pressing situation or meeting an exigency. Investigations for philanthropic agencies and for legislative committees are not infrequent. Residents serving on public commissions use their detailed knowledge of neighborhoods in turning up little known sources of testimony. The more wideawake houses record the working, almost day by day, of laws and the departments charged with their enforcement, and at intervals report their findings to officials and voluntary agencies. Study therefore focuses more and more upon the unclassified, less accessible facts and forces of neighborhood life. This detail of information about the neighborhood is kept vital by continuous application. It conditions the program of the house, indicates channels for influence, furnishes the measure of accomplishment.¹

Intensively, the settlement aims to touch individuals at the quick; that is, to engage their wills. Extensively it would elicit, so far as association, organization, and instruction may serve as a means, the latent human capacity of its given territory. The discovery of talent naturally constitutes the most exciting opportunity of local educators, and settlement workers literally comb their neighborhoods for natural gifts. The only method of keeping out of the slough of mediocrity into which all communities so easily settle is to garner whatever capacity the chance of birth makes available. Discernment and guardianship of personal skill and power in societies of simple people fall rather casually to the neighborly and professional instinct of local clergy, physicians, teachers, men and women of education and resource. In city neighborhoods, unfortunately, professional men and women are not involved in the family life of the people. Residents as they visit homes heed what parents say about abilities of their own or other children, watch

¹ The considerable range over which investigation of fact has heretofore been scattered is gradually narrowing, partly because settlement interests tend to become more clearly defined and partly because agencies specially organized and equipped for research have entered the field.

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boys and girls on playgrounds and streets, encourage expression and initiative in their own clubs and classes, note gifts of leadership which youth discovers in its mates. Evidences of capacity in craftwork, sport, music, dramatics, organization, are hailed, encouraged, and fostered.

Talent of the first order among tenement children is the rare exception. But there is, in most working-class quarters, a considerable number of boys and girls whose modest, though real, promise is lost because unperceived by its possessors or because there is no interested person close at hand to give timely encouragement. The settlement staff becomes highly expert in luring such capacity and in protecting it against the ridicule of peers or the natural adversity of an environment where mediocrity is rampant and dominant. Frequently where families continue to live in the neighborhood there is success in encouraging each child in a considerable series of upward evolving families to work out the measure of his special capacity.

Below talent lies the great body of ordinary human powers. Settlements keep this stratum educationally stirred up and, as it were, aerated. Tenement-bred young people often fail to achieve goals easily within their powers because they are coarse in thought and speech, unclean in their habits, lax in their associations. Their school work and neighborhood play does not fully call out individuality and initiative. The settlement motive would provide every neighborhood with a round of educational and recreational opportunities sufficient to engage the full strength of all children. It would make opportunity for them to participate, under supervision, in athletic sports, walks, camping, club meetings, and other enterprises in association both indoors and outdoors; for all boys and girls to use tools and make things worth while; and during their adolescence to take a working part in some activities of the adult world.

The handicapped, equally with the talented and the capable, are a charge upon the neighborhood organizer. Shut-in children, sick, blind, crippled, or however incapacitated, crave association with other children and with outside friends. Efforts to meet this need brought into being the visiting kindergartner. The resident staff arranges for regular calls. Clubs are formed, with stay-at-home

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member as nucleus, leader and mates meeting around bed or chair. The aged, equally with children, are remembered. All settlements keep a friendly eye on the comings and goings of old people who live alone, succor them in distress, help them over an occasional crisis. Those too weak to go out are visited frequently. Members of the women's club are asked to call. Parties, rides through city parks, home trees at Christmas, and similar pleasures add a touch of joy to age.

Finally, there is the residuum of feeble-mindedness, insanity, crime, or moral degeneracy. Children and adolescents of these types can hardly be included in house groups. Indeed, such association is often as injurious to them as to their normal fellows. But the settlement's relation to the neighborhood holds it responsible to them also. Where the individual can be nursed back to health of mind and re-established in his social relations the necessary effort is faithfully carried out. Where institutional treatment is indicated and available, considerate help is given in making the connection. Where neither disposition takes place, the settlement does all in its power to shield the healthy and to protect the person of low grade from himself.

Such efforts, reaching out of club and class work into personal circumstances, carried on year after year in an atmosphere of varied and continuous common interests, are gradually leading to a new type of case work. Drawing upon the experience of case workers below the poverty line, settlements are undertaking to learn and to apply modifications necessary in a stratum which is predominantly above that level. The fundamental difference is one of attitude.¹ The actual presence or, what is often worse, persistent fear of economic distress, does not dominate the situation.

¹ There is an important distinction in case work between the client who asks assistance to be rid of pain and one who seeks enlargement of powers. The physician, lawyer, teacher, and settlement resident know quite as well as relief workers, the discouragement of trying to serve those who refuse to interpret their situation as the portal into larger opportunity. Case workers in relief societies meet a high percentage of this latter type.

Settlement residents labor under an advantage which is also a disadvantage, of being set to work chiefly with those who are forward looking. Where the impulse is but smouldering, it is their business to fan it into flame. This is no easy task. One frequently finds a settlement worker envious of relief workers, lawyers, or physicians. "Oh," such a one says, "if only we could start with something that approximates the urge which want, pain, and trouble seem to provide."

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Handicaps are of a more conquerable sort. There is a basis for courage both within the home and in the mind of the visitor that opens up and substantiates many possibilities of achievement and progress.

All services of the settlement, as well as those of locally and centrally organized agencies, public and voluntary, become items to be wrought into the family program. Nurses, home and school visitors, as well as club and class directors and leaders, become highly expert in recognizing subtle as well as obvious problems, the intensive as well as extensive concerns of family life. Diagnosis and treatment in any but simple difficulties are collective rather than individual. The opinion of whoever is, for the time being, in touch with individual and family is collated with that of other specialists and with the experience of those residents on purely friendly terms with the family.

A positive opportunity is found in families which have in good measure mastered the secret of gentle intercourse and in which traditional ties of relationship and friendship are cherished. When grandparents, aunts and uncles, godfathers and godmothers, family friends and kindly interested adult neighbors reinforce the better leanings and impulses of children and young people, a conspiracy exists which continually gives free course to influences which settlements seek to promote. It must be confessed that under the hard conditions of tenement existence beautiful family relationships of this sort are the exception rather than the rule. But the wonder does take place often enough to demonstrate the possibility of its more general achievement.

Nevertheless, nearly all mothers and fathers live more deeply in the experiences of their boys and girls, and in the hopes and dreams woven about the future of their children than in their own existence. That some parents appear to show little interest in the detail of what is being done for their sons and daughters, and to relinquish responsibility for certain forms of education and recreation, represents to the settlement not an opportunity but the challenge of a twofold duty.

The nurture and tuition of children, because they bring absorbing problems to parents, afford settlement groups their chief chance to participate in family life. Birth of a baby stirs emotions, imag-

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ination, and will so deeply that marvels of family regeneration and reorganization grow out of wise suggestion at this time. The preparation of the baby's food, health of kindergarten children, recreational needs of preadolescent boys and girls, the provision of quiet for study or for practise on an instrument, become means of establishing higher standards of home-making and of living in general. Celebration of family festivals is promoted by arranging for Christmas trees, helping to prepare birthday cakes, and making possible family outings and vacations.

Difficulties into which children fall through unsupervised associations are set forth in terms of current neighborhood history. The influence of evil example on the innocent and weak-willed is brought home through stories of local family tragedy. Fathers and mothers are supplied, out of varied knowledge of juvenile careers, with argument and expedient through which to guard and discipline offspring. Almost more important than any other single fact in promoting such an end is the consciousness of parents that efforts they make for their boys and girls are watched and appreciated by teachers and friends.

The most frequent and, in many respects, most tragic family problem, from the point of view of its united progress toward higher standards, is ill-adjusted relations between parents and children. The rapidity with which preadolescent children master a new language and assimilate strange customs carries them quickly into an absorbing outside world. Early entrance on work and possession of a little money causes adolescent boys and girls to lose their sense of proportion and to become arrogant and self-willed. High regard for accessories of success, such as showy clothing and jewelry, manifested in the America they know, and scorn for the past felt by new incumbents in a status not wholly achieved, frequently lead young Americans in the making to be secretly, if not openly, ashamed of their parents.

It is universally characteristic of settlements that they seek earnestly to keep eager and aspiring young people in responsible and loyal relations with their families. Residents are often able to clear up the misunderstanding and pain of fathers and mothers who have come to think of their children as selfish, uncommunicative, distrustful, and unkind. Powers and desires in youth, the ten-

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dencies of which are not plain to matter-of-fact elders, are talked over and interpreted. Children, on the other hand, are encouraged to share new interests with their families.

Residents make a special point of treating parents with the full respect due heads of families. The worth and beauty of old world handicraft, music, and literature are given appropriate recognition. The man or woman who can render folk dances, songs or tales, or practice folk handicraft is publicly honored. The stirring effect on crudely Americanized children of the discovery that there are elements of high worth and beauty in the racial life from which they spring is encouraged and directed.

Efforts to help lonely, repressed, rigid-minded boys and girls show that certain fathers and mothers fail to make affection understood through very lack of words and phrases, through atrophy of half-used powers of expression, through attempts to hide the smart of personal worry, pain, and difficulty, and inability to visualize the standard of living in this country. Residents and club leaders explain to children reasons for parental action in terms of local circumstances and old country traditions, and induct them into new understanding and sympathy with hitherto unguessed realms of adult thought and action. By patiently enforcing the difference between old and new world standards, parents who have become too absorbed in fighting off poverty for the future are brought to greater liberality in providing opportunity and pleasure for their children.

Support of educational and recreational interests of the family is supplemented through services which involve residents in basic problems of income. The natural follow-up connected with stamp-saving deposits, visiting housekeeping service, co-operative ventures, budget investigations, afford an easy and natural approach to problems of earnings and expenditure, higher education of children, care of the sick and aged. Calls made in connection with clinics, clubs, classes, and vacation houses frequently lead to revision of budgets and dietaries. Systematic hints on the technique of buying, preparing, and serving foods not only makes the home a more efficient instrument of production, but renders interplay of family life more kindly and pleasant.

Many family situations have to be approached and dealt with chiefly through acquaintance with extra-family associations. Parti-

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cipation in small and large neighborhood affairs reveals aspects of personality hardly perceived and certainly not dealt with in the family. Men, women, and children kindly co-operative in the home circle are sometimes brusque and destructive outside; while others genial and helpful among friends and acquaintances, are often irritable and mean-spirited at home. Individual repulsions and affinities disclosed through association, reinforced by accurate knowledge of the amount and quality of group life open to boys and girls, often help surprisingly toward understanding individual and family problems. For it is one of the unhappiest aspects of tenement life that children and young people frequently keep from parents the names even of playmates and acquaintances.

The settlement is definitely keyed to promote association in and through inter-family groups. The mutual exchange between residents and neighbors of details about health, achievements, troubles and hopes of family and friends is availed of to increase and enrich that fund of dramatic human detail which is the staple fare of first-hand intercourse the world over. By continual touches here and there, the settlement staff leads the ordinary converse of neighbor with neighbor into the wholesome enlargement which is possible to every personal orbit as it crosses any other. The higher significance of local ideas and traditions is drawn out and forms of inspiring co-operative enterprise devised. Edifying elements in local news are emphasized as they pass from household to household, in widening circles throughout the neighborhood. With a certain restless curiosity, possibilities of interest and pleasure in the day's work of each family are sought out and brought to common recognition. What people have learned from reading and their experiences in other places, however slight, is interpreted, put into relation with facts of history and science, and compared with what wider information or farther journeys may suggest.

Continued participation in the life of its quarter makes the settlement staff acquainted with those groupings of families which form the most important figure in the associational pattern of neighborhood life; with the organization of various miniature colonies of like-minded; with groups based on income, religious affiliation, moral or æsthetic standard, temperament and disposition, common experience at work or play; with the residuum of degenerates

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against which the neighborhood protects itself, as does the body against tubercle germs, by attempting to isolate them.

Residents also learn the meaning of the many different levels of social standing characteristic of working-class life. This tendency of human nature so far as the professional and commercial classes are concerned is understood and allowed for. Experience shows, also, that the pride of the humblest family which leads it to seek some and to avoid other families, reaches the very roots both of economic and moral self-respect. Amid many gravitating tendencies, to "scorn the base degrees by which he did ascend" and to breathe aspiration toward those still modest ones just beyond, is to draw on elemental forces which make character and build civilization. Neighborhood life begins to be revealed not only in its length and breadth but in its depth and height.

So valuable is the knowledge which grows out of following threads of intercourse between families, that here and there a settlement divides its neighborhood into sections and appoints a resident to organize the spread of helpful suggestion in each. The experienced visitor can happen upon groups of housewives who gather daily to exchange news and views, and introduce what she has to say to the circle as a whole. The women best qualified to impart information to a given group are asked to gather their friends and neighbors and to interpret what doctors, nurses, and other specialists have to communicate. On the basis of such simple neighborly relations right links of connection are established among different groups, who are thus brought into the spreading interests of the neighborhood at large.

When the sum of all such intensive cultivation is realized and its total significance, in terms of personal character, the higher tone of family life, and the broader development of neighborly sentiment fairly assessed, there comes an adumbration of the moral conditions precedent to the nucleus of a better city.

CHAPTER XXIX

INSTITUTIONS AND NEIGHBORHOOD

IT IS a cardinal duty and opportunity of the settlement group as local citizens to support voluntary neighborhood institutions, especially those managed and paid from popular resources. Remembering that working people, as a rule, have fewer institutional loyalties but hold them more tenaciously than the well-to-do, residents are careful not to undermine local undertakings, either positively by competition or negatively by supplying counterattractions. They follow the programs of various societies week by week to guard against interference or conflict. It is a vital part of the settlement thesis that the staff shall remain flexible, sympathetic with diverging points of view, patient if need be with outworn traditions and red tape; ready to serve on local boards and committees whenever invited, and seeking similar participation on the part of district institutional leaders in undertakings of their own. Many instances show that houses are glad to see a local organization grow at their expense, and are even zealous propagandists for its welfare.

The main action of settlements, so far as participation in other forms of service is concerned, has been not with the undeveloped initiative of local people, but with the great responsible enterprises of the city as a whole, whether under voluntary or public auspices. The broad scheme of service carried on by most houses for the common weal is to a large extent worked out in this way. It is vital to the neighborhood idea not merely that the benefits supplied by centralized agencies shall be mediated to the people through localized intelligence and skill, but that the people themselves should be taken into confidence and enlisted in actual co-operation.

The range and complexity of human needs that reveal themselves as acquaintance with people multiplies, calls for something approaching omniscience about the city's resources for relief of distress and the protection of family standards. While to persons of intellectual training and practical experience the organization of

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professional services into departments and specialties makes for technical and administrative efficiency, simple-minded men and women are frequently baffled and discouraged by distinctions which they cannot comprehend and by the necessity of going from place to place for help. The often expressed conviction that there should be a conveniently situated center of help for all the ills that may happen to mind and body is an index of their confusion.

The settlement house serves as such a center. Persons in need of help are not only adequately and precisely directed, but their experience is followed to the end. Centralized agencies are seen through reports of beneficiaries as well as through the eyes of administrators. Residents are often able to bring to the attention of leaders in a city-wide centralized service the knowledge of how tenement dwellers regard their organization and the actual experiences of workers as they touch its routine. Three decades of such interpretation has helped to bring a decided lessening of that dread of hospitals and charitable agencies in general which until recent years caused multitudes of sick and distressed men and women to bear suffering rather than to face the evils of a callous institutional procedure.

On the other hand, heads of families vary, among tenements as on the boulevards, in the judgment with which they seek professional help at the moment it may profitably be secured. Residents explain the work of hospitals and clinics to individuals, women's clubs, and other organizations. Parents are urged to take the initiative in seeking advantages offered by medical agencies, legal aid, loan funds, and other associations. Most settlements can show a considerable number of families who have learned to use these facilities wisely; and such capacity is one of the surest tests of an achieved standard of life.

Passing from problems of relief, recently organized central agencies to promote education, hygiene, recreation, and general civic upbuilding throughout the city form an increasingly potential resource for community organizers. Many of these agencies, which represent the impulse of the educated and well-to-do to spread the riches of civilization in wider commonalty, make the settlement an outpost for occasional service. Residents gather audiences, form classes, arrange exhibits, and create a local ferment of interest.

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Such an affiliation, in frequent instances, results in the establishment of a branch either at the settlement or in separate quarters. Residents awaken neighborhood interest and make connection with the right people, contribute their time, office room, janitor service, and local direction. Milk stations, baby clinics, dispensaries, schools, baths, housekeeping centers, branch libraries, among other forms of service, have thus been brought into being.

Participation in the routine of district institutions, consultation with leaders, and acquaintance with results of this or that service in people's homes reveal needs for meeting which there is neither money nor staff. Residents often step into this breach. They become school visitors, visiting nurses, playground leaders, sanitary inspectors, truant officers, librarians, story-tellers, cooking teachers, to mention but a few newly developing services that go with the more thorough local application of our inventive and adventurous humanitarianism.¹

But such joint action requires patient adjustment. A frequent cause of disagreement between settlements and centralized organizations grows out of the fact that certain among the latter measure results in terms of units, while the yardstick of the settlement is human inter-relations. Neighborhood workers know that persons living in the same vicinity meeting at frequent intervals are a vital factor in establishing a receptive and co-operative community sentiment. Such a group can both withstand attack and convert others. The convinced iteration of a fact, or the repetition of a gesture by a few persons within a neighborhood, has great carrying power. But such a cross-section of humanity always represents problems of dietary, regimen, racial custom, religious sanction,

¹ From the beginning, men and women of the settlements have stood ready, as it were, to serve tables in houses other than their own. Administratively such co-operation demands a margin of time and money. Residents and volunteers must be willing to subordinate themselves to the necessities of discipline in another institution, must overcome the dislike of subordinates to the introduction of anything new, must bear the opprobrium which falls to meddlers. Exact and definite information of a kind which takes hours to secure and compile is often requested. The question as to who shall finance localized service is bound to arise. The co-operating agency is rarely willing to pay its cost, and the settlement, burdened with its many-sided task, can hardly bring itself to sustain the detailed program of another organization. Success when it comes accrues not to the local innovator but to administrators of the general organization. Despite its discouragements such work represents one of the most important branches in the complicated range of settlement technique.

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economic habit, and desires for association. Hospitals, dispensaries, educational and recreative associations lose much by unreadiness to make exceptions or even to permit innovations in order to meet the conditions and attitudes of these neighborhood circles.

Where there is no other public or private agency either within or without the neighborhood prepared to undertake some form of service which experience and judgment indicate to be urgently needed, a settlement is in duty bound, if it can command the skill and financial help needed, to meet the situation. The state, as a rule, does not count experiment among its functions. Where public funds represent the contribution of every citizen, it is difficult to secure adoption of methods or policies which rest on needs rather than results.

Specific experiment, among workers, has never been an end in itself. The settlement is always glad when an enterprise can properly be set adrift and its resources freed for work in new directions. The time unit necessary to bring about public or semi-public assumption of services established and maintained wholly or in part on settlement initiative varies widely. It is part of the neighborhood organizer's method to make a nice adjustment between absolute and convincing demonstration of a need, working out a plan for meeting it, and the moment to propose assumption of responsibility and cost by others. Henry Street Settlement in New York stipulated before stationing nurses in schools that the venture, if successful, should be publicly assumed. Kindergartens, branch libraries, playgrounds, baths, dance halls, theaters, music schools, evening classes, have frequently to be carried on for years before other agencies can be brought to assume full responsibility. Often the appropriate strategy for securing this result involves uniting with others in a city, state, or even national campaign.

In its attitude toward commercial recreation the settlement is bound to act as a vigilance committee. The resident staff must know the reputation of drinking places, pool-rooms, bowling alleys, dance halls, candy and fruit stores, political and pleasure clubs, and so far as possible establish acquaintance with the proprietors. They naturally do everything in their power to reduce the risks of associations in such resorts. By commending the sale of pure products, obtaining co-operation of managers in excluding children be-

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low legal age from admission to cafés, dance halls, and movies, seeking to arouse a quasi-paternal attitude on the part of keepers of small stores frequented by boys and girls, it is often possible to decrease the harm of legally sanctioned neighborhood resorts.

The disappearance of the saloon is a phenomenal event. A great part of the harm done by it has gone with it; the scattered evils that mark its sequel will gradually be reduced. Before the coming of prohibition there was a widespread conviction that substitutes for the saloon, as nearly like it as possible, would be necessary. The best settlement opinion held that the attractive power of the saloon was appetite; that when alcohol was eliminated, saloon habitués would reassort themselves. This has turned out to be the case; and the real substitute for the drinking place is seen to be, as the settlements know from overwhelming evidence, the home. The need of new forms of local organization and association may be expected to develop as more normal groupings come into being, and will perhaps lead to special joint enterprise between settlements and the men of the neighborhood.

Governmental action as it affects the locality is theoretically a matter of, for, and by the people. For some of the more direct and generally appreciated services of the municipality, such as baths, gymnasiums, playgrounds, libraries, and, of course, public schools, this presupposition holds in measurable degree. But enforcement of law raises entirely different issues, and often compels the settlement to take an attitude which the district regards as not only alien but hostile.

Although the resident group is fully prepared to be unpopular on adequate occasion, and is always living down misunderstanding, it is greatly concerned to retain that working relationship with people without which in the long run it would be powerless to carry through its underlying program. When it comes to pressing a case against a neighbor to the point of affecting his vested interest or his personal liberty the situation becomes delicate. Thus enforcement of the housing law against a small immigrant owner who, while exploiting his compatriots, yet lives on the offending premises and under identical conditions, is likely to be interpreted as persecution. The overborne parent, who hopes to ease financial burdens and secure some

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respite from work through the earnings of children during the short period between late childhood and an early marriage, finds it difficult to acknowledge disinterested execution of the child labor law.

The settlement does not invoke police authority, as it is not primarily a law enforcement league, at permanent expense of its neighborhood relations. Efforts to secure obedience to statutes are begun at those more obvious points on which public sentiment is in fair accord. In time the support of more thoughtful citizens is enlisted to bring about the enforcement of less acceptable provisions. Within these limits the majority of houses that have had most to do with the execution of law feel that in the long run their neighborhood affiliations have not suffered. The settlement should certainly never be in friendly relations with any law-breaking element. Even though enforcement is unpopular at first, in due time it is accepted and approved by the community.

Closely related to the question of attitude toward operation of the law is that of taking persons delegated with police power into residence. While it is universally conceded unwise for residents to be frequently involved in prosecutions, there are forms of enforcement which even enhance the influence of the settlement. Among instances of this sort may be recalled the appointment of Jane Addams as a Chicago sanitary inspector; Mrs. Kelley's service as chief factory inspector for Illinois; and the work of residents of University Settlement in New York as inspectors in the street cleaning department. The public servant most often found in residence at a settlement is the probation officer; but as it is now generally understood that his chief function is to keep children out of court, his presence is generally commended.

Although the settlement seeks as far as possible to secure its results through use of local resources, the cure of even petty ills and the accomplishment of relatively simple neighborhood desires often depend upon awakening public opinion of city and even of state. Whether they will or no, settlements are committed by the logic of our system of government to legislative appeal for relief of local evils and for measures of community progress. Once legislation is obtained the settlement follows with utmost care the administration and results of law. Cases of disputed justice are investigated and necessary correctives determined. Means are worked out for

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meeting cases of real hardship during the period of readjustment. The results of one statute sometimes precipitate effort for another. Having brought about the passage of laws for control of child labor, efforts to bring into being an adequate system of vocational education were made the more inevitable. The law compelling midwives to register demanded machinery for expert supervision and instruction. Efforts to control dance halls and motion picture theaters open up the whole question of better standards for public recreation.

By far the most important cultural interest in the average working-class community is religion. The neighborhood worker does everything in his power to strengthen institutions through which the faith of people, whether Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Mohammedan, or Buddhist, is nourished. In neighborhoods inhabited by representatives of two or more faiths, he orders his activities so that each may reap its appropriate advantage among its normal constituency and the neighborhood as a whole be built up.¹ As the neighborhood changes and new faiths appear he can sometimes help the most recent comer in making adjustments to already established loyalties. It must be said, however, that temperamental and philosophical unsectarianism is often countenanced with very bad grace by a considerable proportion of the people and their ecclesiastical leaders. As a friend, the neighborhood worker is considered lukewarm; as an outsider insidious: he is criticized on the one hand because he is a propagandist, and on the other because he is not. But the settlement must, as a rule, hew to the line, leaving entirely to the different branches of the church in the neighborhood to carry on the distinctive offices of religion and devoting itself to what is non-divisive and universal in local reconstruction.² The services of the settlement staff, however,

¹ The necessity of separating religion and social work which obtains in the North is not felt in the South, where the population is, in small places, almost overwhelmingly Protestant.

² The necessity which settlement workers are under of differentiating themselves from missions and institutional churches is often painful and always thankless. It has borne fruit, however, in a growing appreciation among Protestants generally that the establishment of missions in disguise is a very serious infringement of sectarian good faith. While no one can deny the propriety of a certain readiness on the part of any denomination as such to spread its message among people generally, whatever their present attitude toward religion, baiting children through recreation,

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are at every opportunity put at the disposal of ministers, priests, and rabbis.¹

Not only the individual contribution of societies working in and through the neighborhood, but their relations to one another have to be considered. An outstanding feature about life in many city communities is the divorce between institutions and any concerted effort for common welfare. Clergymen, teachers, physicians, administrators, are frequently unacquainted with co-workers in the same territory, to say nothing of leaders in other types of work. During the nineties certain settlements tried the plan of calling together teachers of the neighborhood to consider local educational needs, physicians to discuss questions of public health, the clergy to take up problems of moral supervision. The plan had relatively slight success because heads of local institutions tend to think in terms of their particular task, and have an established habit of limiting action to what their position specifically entails. Moreover, workers in the same general type of service are often in an attitude of competition and find it difficult to consult together disinterestedly.² Experience in war service of many kinds and the

breaking up family and neighborhood loyalties, and the creation of an intense bitterness that vitiates the fundamental human instincts are very costly methods of setting about spread of any faith.

¹ Children are urged to be loyal each to his own church. Ministers, priests, and rabbis are notified whenever religious advice seems to be needed. The use of the settlement rooms is sometimes offered for the purpose of bringing together un-shepherded fellow-believers, Jews, Greeks, Catholics, Protestants. It is, however, always made plain that the settlement, by such action, does not foster one faith at the expense of any other.

The charge that settlements have sometimes been lacking in vigilance to preserve religious ideals of young people has, in a few cases, had a basis of fact. The great majority of houses, however, devote themselves heartily to the task of fostering whatever religious tradition the children of the community have. The fact that religious leaders are often powerless to overcome indifference among their young people, is the best answer to this specific charge. If the church, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, with its vast resources of equipment and staff has in many cases found itself balked, it is hardly strange that settlements should find difficulty in carrying out the principle, observed by nearly all of them, of guarding existing religious loyalties.

² Resident professional men and women, and in some degree those who living elsewhere give regular service, are in normal neighborhoods sources of communal initiative. There are, however, in every metropolitan area, certain neighborhoods without resident professional people; others served by leaders so few and so unprogressive that their influence is negligible where it is not positively retrogressive; still others which are looked after by persons who, aside from their immediate tasks, have no interest in the life of the community.

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general response to patriotic demands have created a different attitude, and better results are hoped for.

Correlation of the work of centralized agencies within settlement neighborhoods has during the past decade become a motive both of the settlement and certain among the most far-seeing executives. The settlement staff, involved with from one to fivescore societies is able, after a little, to pass on not only the results of its knowledge of the neighborhood, but the conclusions of different specialists. Where a household is being visited by representatives of several agencies it is often possible to devise a unified plan covering the full needs of the family group. Sore spots due to bad housing, contagion of evil influence or lax public service are uncovered. New forms of helpful service, based on intensive knowledge of specialists and interpreted in the light of the settlement's grasp of the entire round of local needs and powers, are struck out and put into operation.

It will have been clear that the settlement in seeking urgent legislation and increased public service, does not wait upon readiness of the neighborhood to urge or even necessarily to approve such action. The group of residents, in these as in many other matters, play their part as citizens of the greater community, and as such join hands with all like-minded wherever they may be found. Special effort, however, is devoted toward winning the approval of neighbors for legislation thus secured after it begins to prove its case; and such educational effort is an important means through which settlement and neighborhood quite completely learn to work together in legislative campaigns.

The abiding distinction of its contribution to local organization lies in the determination to develop a comprehensive educational policy. Residents seek to meet and hold young and old within the sympathetic restraints of the neighborhood circle; to organize and codify in tradition the moral sentiment of the people so as to assure and safeguard the rights of every individual; to make the neighborhood in a very substantial degree sufficient unto itself in the supply of enlarged fellowship; to secure a range of educational, recreational, and associational activities sufficiently broad to satisfy the desires, and stimulating enough to call out the higher capacities of every member of the community; to engage individuals of all

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ages and types in reciprocal relations of some kind; to exercise families as families and neighbors as neighbors, so that every element of individual and collective life may minister naturally to the upbuilding of each citizen in the community.

In the flux of neighborhood inter-relations, and through the higher tone and impetus which it imparts, the whole variety of institutions, in proportion as they are locally involved, catch the spirit of progress in their inner and outer dispositions. Increasing signs of promise appear that they may grow into a somewhat co-ordinated enginery for the immediate good and for the integration of real communal power. Its beginnings are based on the vast and continuous accumulation of local knowledge through local fellowship.

CHAPTER XXX

RACE AND PLACE

NATIONALITY has important, though by no means preponderant, influence on the settlement program. The task of neighborhood workers in this connection is to impart American standards and ideals not alone to foreign born, but equally to second and third generations of immigrant stocks, the subject matter of whose interests is usually absorbingly American. Indeed, they frequently find that their efforts are distinctly needed on behalf of families of longer native lineage, when, in laggard types, these are found within local range.¹

Twenty-five years ago citizens looked upon immigrants, particularly those from eastern and southern Europe, as among, but not really of, the nation. They were psychologically disfranchised. Each wave of newcomers was regarded as less cleanly, more ignorant, more a menace to national intelligence, health, and morals than its predecessor. For nearly three decades the settlement was practically the sole agency set to welcome the great body of strangers coming to our shores, to interpret them to the community at large, and to assist them in adjusting their life to ours.²

Americanization, in settlement terms, is an evolution into national fellowship through mastery of our standard of living and of life. Each nation has its own such norm. Ours is richer at some points and thinner at others than that of England, France, Italy,

¹ On the other hand, settlement workers have pointed out the fatality of the indifference that fails to discern the danger to our economic, political, and moral standards when certain types of newcomers are left to create breeding grounds for much that is incompatible with or hostile to the best values of American life. While differing among themselves as to the policy of severe restriction, many residents believe that the future intellectual and moral stamina of the nation is seriously endangered by some phases of immigration. Even so far as immigrants themselves are concerned, many would be better off at home than they are under the inhuman way of life which goes with the conditions of work into which they enter and the congestion of the neighborhoods in which they live.

² Of 307 settlements reporting, 283, or 92 per cent, are placed among immigrants.

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Germany, or Russia. Assimilation, in minimum terms, includes learning the language in its living quality as a means of human interchange, attainment of a level of personal and household cleanliness, gradual appropriation of the moral idioms which, above all, give a nation its self-hood.¹

The most satisfactory type of adjustment to American life occurs when one or two immigrant families settle in a town or village, earn their living in local industries, purchase at nearby stores, send their children to public school, and join institutions of religion and recreation. The immigrant family in this case duplicates under our conditions the ordinary neighborhood associations and relations through which life in all nations, at all eras, has kept sound and aspiring. Unfortunately, this method of apprehending the standard of life, dominant in the past, is today exceptional.

The great majority of recent arrivals in metropolitan areas are found either in colonies nationally homogeneous or in cosmopolitan districts shared by anywhere from three to thirty different foreign types. In either instance it is fatally easy for immigrant men, women, and children to have only the slightest touch with our life. There are many foreign colonies in this country, members of which know hardly more of America than those groups of our own compatriots in Rome or Paris or in the European colonies of Chinese and Indian seacoast cities ordinarily know of the life by which they are surrounded. The sanctions which control them are elsewhere than in the country in which the members happen to have deposited their bodies. Settlement workers can point out Irish colonies in which questions of neighborly relationship, political quarrels, and many economic problems are decided on the basis of onetime residence in a particular Irish county; Italian districts in which questions of drainage and education, band concerts and dances, are bound up with rivalries of Calabrian towns; Jewish groups in which all aspects of local life are determined by precedents worked out in Polish and Russian ghettos. Immigrants work and earn their living under direction of other immigrants, and their institutions are in charge of leaders born and trained abroad. The children frequently go to schools taught by young people of foreign-born

¹ See Appendix, p. 419, Note X.—An Experimental Definition of the American Standard of Living.

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households, who speak English with the vocal maladjustments of those who have never mastered the genius of English speech, and who have never experienced the life of a typical American community. These teachers have no adequate knowledge of the customs, manners, and subtle nuances of ideas and ideals that make the real spirit of the nation.

These facts are pointed out in no spirit of criticism. Nationality, even a foreign one, is vastly to be preferred to cosmopolitanism. It is beyond measure better for this country that newcomers should settle with their own people and reproduce their native life, with its churches, benefit societies, and cultural institutions, than that they should either live isolated in the midst of an American community or become part of a commercialized cosmopolitan slum. No greater service has been rendered the nation during the stage of hurried incoming which it has not only permitted but fostered, than the rapid establishment of immigrant cultural institutions. Whether in Irish, German, Italian, Jewish, or Bohemian colonies, a standard of life is held by the people themselves until adequate connection is made with the life of America.

However satisfactorily such colonies may temporarily meet their members' needs, and they sometimes manage to achieve a most worthy and interesting social type, the result is not democracy in our terms. The settlement proposal for securing democratization in the American sense is actually to bring the largest possible number of persons grounded in the national life into friendly relations with newcomers. The key to democracy is fellowship, and fellowship in a variety of relations and associations. Democracy is real only where all kinds and conditions of citizens are in communication. The neighborhood is a highly effective medium for such interplay because the activities of a local community include a wide range of varied reciprocal experience among human beings.

The process of promoting assimilation cannot be considered under way until individuals and households of foreign antecedents are united in responsible relations on the one hand with American families and organization, and on the other with families among their own group of a higher grade and achievement who have made substantial progress toward Americanization.

The residence house of the settlement domiciles persons who ex-

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press through their manners and attitudes, and in the conditions under which they live, the national standard; and through them brings into the neighborhood anywhere from a score to several hundred men and women of their like who associate intimately with individuals and households of the local community.¹

There is a certain crossing of purposes between the settlement as a neighborhood agency and many forms of racial organization. The loyalty of a given immigrant nationality, which refers back in considerable degree to village attachments, usually finds a radius wider than that of a city district and is rather indifferent to strictly local interest. Taking account of the exclusiveness that goes with this alignment, this fact leaves little opportunity for the establishment of common ground with members of these associations as such. Many houses, through acquaintance with leaders of such organizations, attempt to bring them into a kind of diplomatic relation with American institutions. Speakers, lantern slides, and copy for publication are furnished; celebration of our holidays is promoted; now one and now another element of the national standard of life is interpreted. In numerous instances the settlement hall is rented to immigrant groups. In such circumstances personal relations between the residents and leaders of the colony are often productive. But where immigrant leadership is grossly below American standards, outright competition with it becomes not only allowable but imperative. For each nationality brings its own parasites. The cruelest types of injustice and exploitation are those practiced by sharpers, employment agents, contractors, and small business men upon fellow nationals, and by successful members of earlier waves of immigrants upon recent arrivals of another race or nationality. The establishment of legal aid societies, dispensaries, banks, and other institutions represents ways of saving people from low-grade service provided by charlatans among their own kind.

The whole career of the settlement shows that its emphasis upon American standards has not failed to conserve the best traditions

¹ Here is reason for the insistence which settlement workers place on securing American residents and volunteers in largest possible numbers. Young people brought up in immigrant households, whatever their ability, can hardly have an adequate knowledge of the manners, customs, ways of thought, subtler shades of American ideals and opinion.

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which immigrants bring with them. From the beginning residents have insisted that the art, history, and moral ideals of newcomers represent a potential resource, and have protested against the waste which takes place when immigrants discard fine traditions in exchange for the cheap imitation of Americanism picked up in tenements, shops, and commercial recreation resorts.

Two deep-seated impulses are strong among newcomers from overseas. One is the desire which many men and women have, as guests in the national household, to present something fine and distinguished to the country of their adoption; the other is a certain nostalgia for the culture in which they were born and nourished. Even those who have fled political oppression and fully appreciate the excellence of democratic government, hark back to the food, music, manners, and ideals which are the fabric of their memories and their minds. This need is met by publicly honoring heroes of different races, by commending whatever is gracious and distinctive in their manners and customs, and by organizing exhibitions of craftwork, dancing, dramatics, and folk singing.

Not least in importance among the duties of interpretation is that of explaining its neighbors to the community, and the community to its neighbors, in times of strain.¹ All immigrant colonies include small groups of economic, political, and religious radicals, unrepresentative because highly individualistic and humanly unco-operative. Their organizations are therefore very small, and under normal circumstances members are more likely to be heard outside than within the colony. Settlement experience would ordinarily not support the suppression of such utterance. Converts are made not on the basis of an intellectual dogma, but through disgust and even fury aroused by instances of neglect after accident, thefts of wages, tyranny of foremen, unjust imprisonment, overdrastic use of the police power, exploitation of women and children.

While immigrants implicated in plots for "direct action" in the shape of sabotage, assassination, and other lawlessness should be adequately punished, settlement workers know by long experience that discussion about principles of social organization is most profitably met, not by prosecutions but by reasoned argument, and especially by the citation of incidents proving the essential fairness

¹ See Appendix, p. 420, Note XI.—Radicalism and Misunderstanding.

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of the American government. Residents take pains to explain seeming inconsistencies in our laws and customs; they admit injustice when it exists and explain the steps being taken to overcome it. They point out similar infelicities in the countries from which the complainants come, and make clear the need of struggle toward social justice. Such interpretation is worth doing carefully and well, because America seeks not a servile citizen, but one who will bear with the national shortcomings as things to be overcome by patience and effort on the part of all, understanding that the foundations of our life are established in equity.

The most telling rebuttal of radicalism is a friendly relation between Americans and newcomers. Not many immigrants temperamentally desire either the mechanical alignments of socialism or the unlicensed freedom of anarchy. The majority are simple, in-adventurous people who do not think in abstract terms either of government or revolution, but dream of security in work and regular income. The appeal of radicalism to these primary desires is indubitably a menace, and can be met only as organizers of industry set their houses in order in relation to essential aspects of the standard of life.

Criticism of settlements as instruments of assimilation focuses on two danger spots. One is an Americanism so aggressive and inconsiderate that it antagonizes more than it attracts. Certain settlements have no one in residence who speaks the language of people of the neighborhood, and little effort is made thoroughly to grasp the significance of their manners, customs, and general outlook on the world. There are nationals who make nationality hateful even to their own. Hardly less a problem is the type of house in which the residents become more or less assimilated to standards of the immigrant group or groups about it. It is, of course, among the risks of propaganda that the propagandist shall himself suffer conversion. Occasional residents take on the more showy personal qualities of certain European types, adopt less rigid standards with respect to personal relations than those of our own country, and incline toward an internationalism based on indiscriminate mixture of peoples. The fact that a few houses are overcolored by cosmopolitanism is an indication of difficulties overcome by the successful majority.

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Each national type has its contribution to make to America, and at the same time presents its peculiar problem of assimilation. Early settlements were situated in neighborhoods where the Celtic element molded sentiment and controlled local politics, and residents wrought out many of their associational and political ideas by wrestling with Irish ward leaders and trade unionists. At such houses the Irish are peculiarly beloved, and their considerable service in humanizing municipal politics, keeping alive interest in sports, and safeguarding family ideals is heartily acknowledged.

Simplicity of spirit, loyalty to their own traditions and institutions, is the background which the Irish supply for whatever is undertaken by the settlement. Rare courtesy, especially on the part of those born abroad, capacity for wonder, enjoyment of situations, appreciation of the humorous, sensitiveness to hurts real or fancied, are assets to whoever understands and can direct them. Gossip is to the older people as the breath of life; comment on others, however, is almost always tinged with acceptance of the fact that every other human being is as well meaning as one's self. The church plays a deep and absorbing part in molding the mind. Loyalty to God and religion causes misfortune to be accepted uncomplainingly. That difficulties might be overcome through common action is a novel and not easily understood idea. The new has, therefore, to be brought within scope of loyalty to faith, family, and associates.

The motor-mindedness of Irish young people causes them to prefer such active recreations as athletics, dramatics, and dancing; although their keen interest in association makes self-governing organizations formed about matters of substantial interest easy and effective. Boys and men instinctively fall into the gangs so ably used by politicians to build up their power. Superabundant and largely undisciplined physical vitality creates many problems of control which demand firmness and tact. Unwillingness to admit outsiders within the group loyalty except after long probation, hypersensitiveness toward leaders not traditionally involved with them, often make it difficult to secure the best response to enterprises started by the settlement.

All in all, however, the interplay between Irish and settlement has been of decided worth in both directions. The settlement has

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learned much from them of the varied meaning of loyalty, and from it they have caught certain standards which help to give loyalty a wide range of meaning.

More than any other immigrant, the Jew manifests a willingness to take advantage of educational and recreative opportunities. The underlying strength of the family tie makes it easy and natural for the settlement to include parents in programs created for their children, a tendency which serves to neutralize in substantial degree the peculiar danger of a sharp break on the part of the new generation from cultural and religious practice of the earlier.

Group loyalty among Jews is not so strong as among some other nationalities, and cliques and factions within clubs are not immediately disruptive as among the Irish. Lack of inclination toward local public spirit, and sudden shifts of loyalty are common. The boy or girl is easily spurred to individual accomplishment, but is not quickly interested in a common good. Yet club members sometimes assume an unusual degree of responsibility for the proper conduct of an organization, and a considerable number of Jewish young men and women, trained in settlements, are carrying the spirit of such service into their work as teachers, lawyers, doctors, and public officials.

A considerable number of settlements, chiefly established and manned by Americans as an expression of gratitude for the civilization and genius of Italy, are situated among Italians. Workers are peculiarly bound to consider the meaning of their activities in local terms. The close residential association of young unmarried men and women is sometimes a cause of misunderstanding to neighbors, and the households in such localities are obliged to exercise care lest their way of life provoke unfortunate interpretation. The jealous oversight of women and girls by Italian husbands, fathers, and brothers must be given full consideration.¹ Efforts to bring people together are often checked by important old world feuds and antagonisms which cannot be overlooked or neglected. Shifts of opinion and judgment are frequent. But what

¹ "The club (Italian) is now very well established, and far past the days when jealous husbands waited across the street to observe and draw conclusions as to the propriety of what went on within."—*College Settlements Association Quarterly*, p. 12, March, 1916.

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would be a serious condition of affairs in an Anglo-Saxon community, measured by violence of criticism, is frequently nothing more than the expression of slight personal annoyance or misunderstanding.

Italian children and young people are easily interested in drawing, modeling, dancing, dramatics, pageantry, music, and games. A few houses provide classes in the literary language for children who speak only the patois of parents, so that they may be brought into touch with the best of their racial inheritance. Efforts to influence the present generation of young women encounter peculiar difficulties because girls are not allowed to attend evening gatherings unless escorted by a parent. While such guardianship prevents certain evils of too rapid Americanization, its excess handicaps the girl in assimilating the best ideals offered by her new country. The problem is met in many settlements by sending women residents to escort girls whose parents cannot accompany them to and from evening clubs and classes. Other houses offer classes in home-making for young wives.

Efforts to conserve the skill in handicraft which immigrants bring with them have had more success among Italians than with any other nationality. While this tendency has received encouragement through the interest of societies in Italy to preserve peasant industries, American appreciation of Italian design and workmanship has been a much more important influence. Interesting and rewarding attempts to bring together Italians who desire to meet educated men and women of their own race and to become acquainted with cultivated Americans have been made at several settlements.¹

Lithuanians make up much of the local clientèle of an increasing number of settlements, especially in the Middle West and South. An agricultural people with little proficiency in handicraft, they have been forced into various grades of rough muscular labor and less skilled factory work. Still primitive in habits of life, somewhat unsure of themselves from long centuries of oppression, they are coming to national consciousness through a revival of interest in their language and literature. Among them in the new generation are many bright young men and women, some of whom are at-

¹ See Appendix, p. 421, Note XII.—Italian Contributions to American Culture.

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tending colleges and preparing themselves to be leaders among their own people.¹

A few settlements are situated among Bohemians. Orchestras, choruses, recreative clubs, and neighborhood improvement associations are successful in giving vent to the strongly marked group interests of the people. Their native sense of beauty and the skill in embroidery possessed by the women are cultivated as community assets.

Greeks are now found in not a few settlement neighborhoods. Strong nationalism and pride of race cause the Hellene to rate himself superior to other immigrants. He is often bitter over what he considers American disregard of his historical background and traditions. Hull House, with characteristic realism, invited a Greek into residence and studied Greek life not only in its own neighborhood but in other portions of the city. Public meetings in Greek and English were organized, out of which developed a group that presented the Ajax of Sophocles in Chicago and elsewhere and helped to form a Greek Educational Association.

Only a very few houses are situated in neighborhoods composed of families who have lived in this country for more than three generations.² A community of native-born unskilled laborers made up of stragglers of an industrial army the majority of which has gone forward into more rewarding work and more comfortable quarters, embodies problems of a peculiarly complex and trying sort. Such a population is smugly satisfied with respect to individual and local achievement, and lacks the impulse toward higher things which immigrants often have.

Settlements in some districts encounter a special problem in long rows of houses with "rooms to let." Large numbers of commercial

¹ A Lithuanian student at the University of Chicago established work among his compatriots with classes in the oldest of sciences, astronomy. A school of citizenship was developed out of this venture about which a fairly broad scheme of leisure-time interest, including concerts, entertainments, educational lectures for Sunday afternoons, parties, dances in the neighborhood park center, and other forms of recreation are conducted. Instruction in English is made the vehicle of instruction in civics. The classes are organized in the form of a city government. Plans for lectures or for recreative functions originate among members of the school and are carried out by them.

² Of 307 settlements for which data are complete, 24, or 8 per cent, are located among Americans of the third generation and beyond.

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employees, American and sometimes Canadian, living in lodgings, create problems of housing, recreation, and moral control in many ways more difficult than those found in tenement neighborhoods. Modifications of procedure to meet these conditions have been worked out in a few cities. Boarding clubs for young women and for young men alleviate the condition of a very few. The first thoroughgoing study of complex problems, economic, associational, and moral caused by the presence of thousands of unattached persons centered in a single community, was made from South End House.¹ The fundamental need in rooming districts is to establish certain healthy, albeit artificial, ties which shall provide a sustaining network in place of family and neighborhood relations so largely lost. A room registry, clubs of landladies, recreative organizations for young people, passage of a law licensing lodging houses, organization of a union of lodging-house keepers, represent the beginnings of a practical program. The Boston city government in 1908 appointed the first public commission for the study of a "rooming" district.

Negroes present the particularly difficult problem of delayed assimilation. Most settlements that carry on work among them are situated in the North, and since Southern immigration into industrial states has been recent, the Negro problem has been studied in the city as a whole rather than in one locality.² Houses in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago have sought to make clear the full meaning of the sanitary conditions under which Negroes live, the economic discrimination against them, the disabilities of sentiment under which they suffer, and the measure of their accomplishment in the face of hard conditions. The books of Mary W. Ovington and John Daniels, and the public work of Celia Parker Woolley, all three of whom made their approach to the subject as residents of settlements, have been instrumental in placing an outline of the Negro problem before a considerable number of men and women, and have served to promote the de-

¹ Wolfe, A. B.: *The Lodging House Problem in Boston*. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1906.

² Houses divide into two groups, one initiated and carried on by white for colored, the other organized, governed, and managed by Negroes.

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velopment of a well-devised program of social work for colored people.¹

A substantial number of settlements are situated in neighborhoods of white people which include a small number of Negroes. Where the ratio of black to white is slight, the two races usually mix without friction. Large groups of colored people in a neighborhood predominantly white may force a settlement, against its inclination, to choose between the two. In this case the soundest practice is to establish a separate branch, where special forms of work fitted to the needs of colored people are carried on. Settlements placed in Negro colonies naturally escape some of the more difficult problems growing out of intermixture. Among the most useful forms of practical work are visiting nursing, home-making, stamp-savings service, coal clubs, classes in sewing, cobbling, and chair-caning. Religious feeling is strong, and religious services and observances are a decided help as part of settlement work. Factions based on birth in the several southern states, on occupation, on membership in churches, lodges, and societies are pronounced and often bitter. Leaders of institutions, politicians, and professional men are sometimes antagonistic to what in any degree to them suggests segregation.

Settlement workers, white and colored, divide into two groups on the question of inter-relations between the races. One wing is convinced that promotion of association between blacks and whites is the best way of breaking down discrimination and of freeing Negroes to take a more self-respecting place in the community. Leaders of this wing naturally lay most emphasis on demands for justice and on legal and other efforts to safeguard rights. The opposite party is not neglectful of the need for interpretation, protection, and promotion of understanding between the races. Where there is legal or popular discrimination against the right of Negroes to use public conveyances, to exercise privileges of citizenship, to enjoy public educational facilities, means should and must be taken to protect them. The attempt to force personal relations across racial lines is quite another matter. Negroes, like members

¹ Ovington, M. W.: *Half a Man; the Status of the Negro in New York*. New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1911. Daniels, John: *In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of the Boston Negro*. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1914.

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of other racial groups, must make their way into favor by their productive capacity and their ability to command respect.

Neighborhoods in which many different nationalities live side by side constitute the supreme problem in Americanization. Psychological isolation and inbreeding, as against inter-racial assimilation which represents too often only a mixing of the dregs of several cultures, is the sole alternative in neglected cosmopolitan localities. Imported racial and religious suspicion and distrust, differences of language and outlook, and varying economic progress make it difficult to create united opinion among neighbors, and easy for the reactionary or slothful to thwart progress by appeal to national and sectarian prejudice.

Neighborhood intermixtures of people proceed through three stages: first, interpretation of the several nationalities to one another more or less *en bloc* and in terms of racial accomplishment and powers; followed by promotion of intercourse between individuals in small companies; concluded through establishment of working relations between natural leaders of different groups. It is easy enough to bring together the most antagonistic elements in pageants, mass meetings, and large-scale recreative events in which several nationalities hold solidly together. Exaltation of popular heroes, exhibition of literary, artistic, and musical masterpieces, performance of folk dances, mass singing of national hymns, anthems, and folk songs, promote toleration, a sense of live and let live, and a measure of mutual respect. These events have their greatest usefulness in preparing the minds of individuals for more personal relations across racial lines.

Establishment of such interchange must, in the nature of the case, proceed slowly, and the intermixing seem natural, even though induced. Small classes and clubs form the best and most satisfactory mode of promoting acquaintance. Most groups are fortunately quite willing to include a small proportion of the unlike, and even seem to enjoy the flavor of strangeness so introduced. But when inherent differences reach a point that invites struggle for supremacy, the worst passions of each element are unloosed. As a rule it is wise to keep the ratio of the lesser factor decidedly under twenty per cent. Members of the minority are likely to pass muster in qualities shown by the majority, besides embodying dis-

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tinctive abilities of their own type. Thus Jews admitted to Irish groups usually have something of the Celtic sporting spirit, suavity, and geniality in intercourse and capacity for group action. Irish members of Jewish groups are likely to be among the more intellectual minded of their race, capable of holding their own in the never-ending discussion carried on by Jews.

Shopkeepers, professional men, and politicians are likely to be the first to cross racial lines, because they have the most definite stake in so doing. Committee service in clubs and other local organizations is an excellent means of group interpretation. Each element comes to see the other in terms of its actual contribution of knowledge or practical accomplishment. Criticism is almost always fair even when caustic. Out of acquaintance made at such meetings some friendships result, and tracks in local consciousness are established over which the community impulse travels ever more easily and surely.

Problems coming out of the movement of population are to a large extent aspects of immigration. A small proportion of settlements have the advantage of working in a stable community. Here, long-continued and progressive building of various forms of institutional life has improved environment, the educational work undertaken played a part in turning out a better prepared type of young person, and the growth of well-established adult groups created a forceful nucleus of citizens interested in local welfare.

A second group of neighborhoods, although in process of change from one racial type of population to another, has some measure of underlying stability. It is a common experience for a comfortable or even well-to-do district to disintegrate as immigrants move in. The mobile element among older residents, seeking new homes, withdraws its support from communal institutions which have given collective expression to neighborhood life, and these are gradually starved out of existence. Newcomers are as a rule poor and bewildered, and a degree of industrial and civic chaos ensues. Here, too, the settlement takes steps to meet the different phases of this situation. Special clubs and societies are created to hold together less resourceful members of the old community who are unable to leave the district, while newcomers are helped to make headway in

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speech and employment and in organizing their own churches, schools, and lodges.

Other houses are located in what is practically a flowing stream of humanity, a situation which sometimes brings residents to discouragement bordering on despair. Often all that is possible is to reach out hands to one type after another in the current, and to give some impulse which shall make itself felt in the future. There is a strong temptation to look lightly on neighborhoods and to seek to reach individuals; or to emphasize the larger district which seems to possess certain elements of stability that the immediate locality has lost. But the resourceful settlement is only aroused by the greater urgency of a shifting neighborhood. Individuals, here and there, can be enlisted, and the institutional life of the community be enriched. The fact that staff members are frequently among the oldest inhabitants is of assistance in bringing about necessary readjustments with greater acceptance. In the last analysis the very transitoriness of a population makes more vital the need of holding it in some measure of normal relationship. The settlement which loses courage because a neighborhood does not of itself assume clearly outlined communal life forgets that its essential business is to nurture neighborly sentiment, and if need be, to create it out of nothing, as a distinctive service to those who are to pass on as well as to those who are to come.

The weight of experience shows that under all but most extreme conditions the neighborhood can be in part, and for moments completely, lifted to a plane where barriers of race and tradition begin to lose their isolating power. Under responsible initiative of those who represent both American standards and accessibility of mind, a common language, charged with rich significance, becomes the means of interchange among different racial groups. And as the implied obligations of the adopted civilization are felt and the contribution of each type realized, a binder is formed, in a scene that has been a no-man's land, which makes the newly envisaged patriotism for all parties to the compact an inspiring reality.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE LIVING CENTER

THE interaction of settlement and neighborhood creates certain nice problems. Though incubated outside a local community the settlement comes to birth within it. Once born, it must be in and of the common life, more concerned for local welfare, more jealous of local fame, more avaricious for local advantage, than the people themselves. Residents are at once neighbors and friends, servants and leaders, citizens and, in some sort, statesmen.

The first stage in settlement evolution consists in becoming familiar with the scene, establishing acquaintance with a considerable number of representative men, women, and children, and laying hold upon a few of the more obvious problems of the district. The second stage is characterized by detailed upbuilding of local institutional resources. Many older houses are now entering a third stage, which may be characterized as one of evoking local co-operation. Each of these periods has its own sanctions, and its own way of bringing about results, based, however, on the accumulation of experience and influence gained in the preceding period. For the technique of settlement work is evolutionary, changing with the development of the resident staff and the degree of interplay between house and neighborhood.

In the stage of beginnings, the number and interests of men and women in residence, size and character of buildings and equipment, order of the household, forms of work undertaken, are governed by the degree in which each helps or hinders the primary duty of becoming acquainted from within the scene with environment and people. The more nearly the settlement approximates an average family in size and manner of life during this stage, the easier for residents to become included in the normal life of the locality.

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From two to four persons domiciled in an ordinary dwelling house constitutes a thoroughly satisfactory settlement germ cell.¹

Because the age, sex, and local standing of those asked to form the first clubs, classes, and associations will exercise an important influence on all later enterprises, something in the nature of a policy with respect to them is always determined before starting. It is difficult to attract adults, and extremely easy to bring children together. Experience, however, shows that neighborhood organizations which begin by enlisting ranking men and women find it easy and natural to secure the presence of humbler adults and of children. Houses, on the other hand, that come to be locally known as places frequented chiefly by boys and girls, have difficulty in attracting men and women. The majority of settlements seek to reap full advantage of both forms of attack by building up strong mothers' clubs, members of which are invited to send their children, and by seeking out parents not already affiliated with adult clubs. But the advantage lies with those which begin by organizing adults.

The houses which initiate their work with some institutional service, such as visiting nursing, teaching music, care of infant life, have an immediate advantage over settlements which, as it were, operate under a roving commission. Few people are disturbed by a new institution whose service is obvious. The matter would be without question were it not that the majority of houses administering a specialty find that demands of the service and the thought of subscribers and neighbors conspire to hinder further outreaching. The general motive of community organization demands that specialized services for well-being and education be established as

¹ The practice of attaching a name to the enterprise is as unavoidable from the point of view of the neighborhood as from that of the general public. Because it will be much in the mouths of people, it should be chosen with regard for local prejudices and loyalties. In the absence of any clear indication, experience shows the wisdom of modest and even commonplace insignia, which shall in time be filled in with meaning.

Good names are those which attach the house to its local community, such as Gads Hill, Lenox, and Riverside; or which commemorate exemplars of service and inspiration, as Lincoln, Lowell, Kingsley, and Denison. A few houses are named for benefactors, at best a doubtful expedient. A considerable group of religious settlements are called after persons or symbols associated with the form of faith of their supporters; some others are called after a moral quality. Such names not only savor of a pietistic attitude with which the settlement has nothing in common, but they lend themselves all too easily to ridicule.

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quickly as possible on a permanent institutional basis. On the other hand, it is of the greatest possible advantage that residents should early become involved in the government and administration of local institutions and have opportunity to study from within their workings and possible inter-relations.

It is impossible to overemphasize the fact that the essence of the first stage of settlement work is the intimacy which obtains between residents and neighborhood families. Practically all head workers, as time goes on, find their knowledge of the neighborhood grounded in experiences of the first years. Friends made in this stage remain friends always; they introduce new residents to the community, interpret the goodwill and purposes of the house to doubters, and are the nucleus of the settlements' convinced constituency.

The domesticated institutionalism of this first period, in the eyes of a far from negligible proportion of residents, represents the settlement at its best. Members of this group point out that enlargement of club and class work, addition of institutional features, introduction of a more formal educational motive, entail an inevitable loss in helpful friendly relations with individuals. For them the preferable unit is a small household with its friends and assistants carrying on offices of helpfulness and sociability within a small round of families. Clubs, classes, and groups meet literally as guests of residents; questions of dues, formal self-government, participation in broad-scale civic events, are not permitted to become active lest they interfere with responsive human relations. Although most residents would not approve so thoroughgoing a limitation and feel that expansion can be shaped so as to conserve the values of the days of small things, everyone recognizes the essential dignity and power of its advocates as exponents of the settlement spirit.

The second stage in settlement evolution is an outgrowth of that rounded knowledge of local life and feeling, that mastery of the multiplicity of influences which act and react on individuals and organizations, that sense of solidarity between residents and neighbors, which is gained only by continued experience of a group held together as an established nucleus, living in the district on a twelve-month basis for at least half a decade. In this stage staff, plant,

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equipment, and administration are conditioned by the purpose of creating in germ adequate and permanent organs of community life, securing as rapidly as may be their actualization in permanent form, discovering and training a group of men, women, and children who will illustrate neighborhood loyalty. Crystallization of interest and enterprise, although a necessary period in development of both plant and force, is not permitted to degenerate into rigidity. Theories and activities are held lightly enough so that they may be changed to meet newly discovered popular needs and powers.

A resident group, large, able, diversified in interests, resourceful and co-operative, is now a chief desideratum. Whenever there are more than three or four residents, some become directors of organization among men or women, adolescent young people, boys or girls, specialists in working with particular immigrant groups, teachers of cooking, craftwork, music, art, literature, and dramatics. Dietitians, nurses, and doctors carry the latest results of scientific knowledge and skill to the people.

Certain men and women engaged in work with children and young people are laying the foundations of a new profession; namely, the organization of educational recreation in strata of the population which have relatively fluid interests, without native instincts for the practice of association or of art and science, and which live under conditions where there is no satisfactory initiative from family life. Such directors of work, as they gather new groups, go after absentees, follow up organized interests between meetings, or in general seek a downright personal understanding with people, begin to know in terms of feet and hours the streets, alleys, vacant lots and buildings, back yards, factories, docks, woodyards, railway sidings, police stations, and engine houses which form the stage on which the spontaneous drama of the neighborhood proceeds. They meet with boys on street corners, in cellars, attics, caves, and dugouts, and attend the dance halls, candy stores, amusement places, and promenades frequented by girls. Impulses that engage and move larger gangs and smaller cliques, activities through which they express themselves, kinds of responsibility they are willing to assume, gradually emerge in form to suggest an instructive strategy. Personal conversation as against such background, revelation of character gained through

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the interplay of mind on mind in more formal club or class relations, occasional consultation with parents, teachers, and friends, confessions of children and their elders when in difficulty, still further place the cards in their hands.

In time club directors begin to note the changed moral meaning of territory in which boy and girl move as morning passes into afternoon, twilight, evening, and night, and spring progresses into winter. They become able to forecast roughly but with something like certainty the rise and direction of currents of feeling and influence which circulate among children and youth, and the probable movement of life up and down the streets. So prepared, they are able not only to anticipate and intercept evil influences in their incipient stages, but to create an increasingly appropriate combination of forces which turn constantly emerging powers of young life into channels of worthy expression and fine satisfaction.

Each director of a department is reinforced by his or her associates on the staff. For the house with a considerable number of residents embodying a variety of interests and capacities is educationally both lodestone and touchstone. The needs and possibilities of boys and girls drawn to, and appropriately placed in, its scheme of organization, come up periodically before an educational clinic bent on discovery of positive promise and on fostering character, skill, and purpose. Qualities thought of as weaknesses by one resident are, by another, seen as powers. The group becomes fertile in devising expedients which will tap incentive and maintain interest in minds too soft to take polish. Nowhere can there be found more rounded care by specialists in many phases of unfolding child life than that practiced at many settlements.

The settlement, when it takes the initiative in promoting association, has a very considerable responsibility for results of forces set at work. All groups are watched carefully not only by leaders but by directors of club work and other residents. Indeed, a large proportion of settlement case work consists in following up children and young people whose conduct in clubs, parties, and dancing classes, and whose influence on others, is demonstrably hazardous.

Neighborliness, free interplay between residents and people, is as important as in the stage of beginnings. Though in some measure more difficult to create, certain enrichments of quality grow

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out of its compounding. Specific points of departure for building up acquaintance and for visiting are manifold.¹ At most settlements the beginning of club and class work in the autumn is preceded by a house-to-house canvass. New educational offerings are explained and opinions and desires of parents solicited. Once groups are formed, fathers and mothers are consulted about progress, absences, and where necessary, behavior. In the spring a second general canvass is made for the purpose of listing those who should be invited to day outings and vacations. Additional visits are frequently required in connection with medical examinations, preparation of outfit, and payment of camp fees. The organization of parties, dances and plays, and celebration of holidays involve calls in connection with forming committees, making costumes, gathering properties, arranging extra rehearsals, and securing co-operation of parents.

The relations between residents and neighbors, as the number of persons affiliated with the house increases and the range of their services widens, become less emotional and more technically expert. The former regard themselves, and are regarded in the neighborhood, as educators. They go into homes not only to render assistance, but to secure help in meeting problems which they as teachers and leaders are bound to solve. Parents meet them on this democratic and self-respecting basis. Such resident specialists, season by season, restudy the locality, try all sorts of new ways of converting the unawakened, and scour the city at large for help in giving effect to local plans.

Parallel with what may be called visitation of purpose is another world of chiefly friendly personal interplay based on the neighborly relation. Staff members keep stated days and hours at home, and mothers and young people call freely and informally. Residents drop in upon families with whom they have a special relation of interest as they would upon friends in any other portion of the city. They receive invitations to birthday parties, weddings, funerals,

¹ It is a cardinal principle of settlement technique that all calls must have a valid reason, not only to resident or volunteer but to the person visited. At one house, in order that this branch of its work might be represented in a more technical form, as against a long program of group appointments, twenty-two different kinds of visiting were listed, each kind having a distinct objective, and all of them carried out by persons of more or less special training for accomplishing the end in view.

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christenings, first communions, Christmas and Easter celebrations; are introduced to kinsfolk and family friends; asked to attend church and lodge affairs and taken to missions and jubilees; consulted about clothing, about a new tenement, about buying a piano, about problems of health, hygiene, and employment; participate in trips to theaters, shows, museums, and on day excursions into the country; are sometimes honored by having the new baby for namesake, or by being asked to stand as godparent. The man or woman with a genius for acquaintance easily comes to know a large number of people. Most settlements include a few persons with this power, and the approach of other staff members and of specialists to homes is facilitated, to a degree not easily measured, by the kindly understanding established through those who enjoy human intercourse for its own sake.

The quality of sociability between residents and neighbors is greatly enriched by the fact that families are in touch, actually or potentially, with the entire settlement household. Almost invariably some resident is on terms of temperamental understanding with some member of each household visited. Neighbors on their part interpret the personality and purposes of less understood residents in terms of their knowledge of those better liked. Each year the range of reciprocal understanding and reciprocal interest between the settlement as a household and families of the neighborhood grows more complex and intimate.¹

An advanced policy as to buildings and equipment becomes necessary. Because they do not themselves intend to become permanently responsible for particular types of service most settlements hesitate to erect buildings frankly created for special departments of recreation or education. A considerable proportion of leaders hold that a reconstructed dwelling house best sustains, inside and out, the sentiment of hospitable domesticity at the basis of the settlement atmosphere. Institutional services of education, recreation, and health are provided for by combining adjacent dwellings. Sizable meeting halls, gymnasiums, and theaters are created by removing partitions between rooms. Windows, walls, and furniture are treated so as to suggest that whatever goes on is taking place in a home.

¹ See Appendix, p. 422, Note XIII.—Records.

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A number of settlements have more or less consciously relaxed their hold upon the domestic idea in favor of a humanized institutional center. The house comes to be thought of, both by neighbors and residents, less as a dwelling for people, more as a meeting place for a series of local associations. Such a center masses its activities in a single structure or attached group of buildings, with living quarters for resident staff beside or over the institutional part. It has obvious advantages in facility of administration and a certain degree of direct financial economy. In crowded and otherwise resourceless sections of large cities, with an unstable immigrant population, there is urgent reason for massing all resources into an impressive and powerful hospice of sympathy, justice, and varied opportunity.¹

The fact that the settlement is serving as an experiment station, rather than creating organs for community self-expression, necessarily conditions the uses to which rooms are put and the nature of their furnishing. The gymnasium has frequently to serve as meeting room, dance hall, theater, and banquet room. It is often ill adapted to any one of its multitudinous functions, a handicap which workers accept because they believe it is good policy to bear inconvenience during the stage of educational sounding.

A small proportion of houses provide separate buildings for as many as possible of the various types of work undertaken. Residents live either in dwellings belonging to the settlement or in tenements hired upon their own responsibility. Institutional buildings are more or less deliberately set forth as neighborhood town halls that shall increasingly represent the district itself.²

The attempt to be hospitable and democratic at the same time,

¹ It is increasingly clear, however, that the prescription indicated by these specific conditions should, to thoughtful settlement initiative, suggest departure rather than imitation. For as soon as the work of a settlement grows beyond very modest beginnings, either the physical equipment overshadows the residence with what is after all but interesting and unique institutionalism, or the residence develops to baronial proportions as compared with the other dwellings of the neighborhood. It is, of course, true that the growing circle of residents in the very midst of so many converging interests and activities often brings about particularly varied and inspiring comradeship and hospitalities, larger views, and full summoning of powers; but the suggestion of home no longer remains, while a normal regimen of life for the residents and the value of simple and telling neighborly reciprocity are more difficult of attainment.

² See Appendix, p. 422, Note XIV.—Settlement Buildings.

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to encourage original impulse and self-direction in individuals and groups while safeguarding property, creates problems of discipline not easily understood by the mere onlooker. Neighborhood houses are among the few institutions at which attendance is voluntary, which practically never invoke law to punish small offenses, and which bear with transgressors until seventy times seven. Residents and associates frequently suffer patiently almost intolerable boorishness, because they have seen so many cases in which energy, apparently riotous, has been brought under control in the readjustment of adolescence.

Each house, in the light of its aims and the local powers, must face the question of what shall be its irreducible standard for behavior and use of property. Determination of just how far the local mind is willing to sanction limitation of personal privileges is a delicate one. The exact value of loud ululations by those who enjoy or profit through rowdyism, extent of local inertia, and possibility of arousing a definite proportion of citizens by pushing standards ahead of conviction, must be gauged. One wing among settlement leaders insists on deportment in its dancing classes, gymnastic events, clubs, and classes approximating that of a good private school. Individuals who cannot or will not respond are finally ruled out. Where facilities are limited it often seems the highest economy to use ingenuity for enlarging the number of fine-minded to a point where they may through collective reinforcement leaven the neighborhood. At the other extreme is a small group of headworkers who seek to attract the virile but undisciplined because they believe that this element actually controls rate and direction of progress. Crudities, short of destruction and disorganization, are tolerated provided the group is able to hold together and bring things to pass. The better standards which grow out of long-continued association constitute a code of manners and morals fitted to the desires and powers of the district.

In the long run, of course, the true principle of discipline is to transcend it. A strong momentum of positive intention is introduced into practically all settlement gatherings so that they incite interest, concentrate attention, and carry group sentiment on a rising tide. This is where the art of the leader appears; and fortunately it is not dependent on rare natural gifts. It can be culti-

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vated; and even amid difficulties and apparent failure a kind of confidence is won from a refractory group which tells measurably in the creation of a better tone.

The first activities of newly established settlements, as we have seen, were in the nature of outright hospitality. Without losing this motive the settlement gradually expands into a second form in which, for much that goes on within its doors, responsibility and decision are divided among all concerned. This advance of policy definitely naturalizes the enterprise. The various groups connected with it first pay fixed dues and later often assess themselves, meanwhile learning to get results by team work. But there is continuously the still wider and deeper purpose, through such preparatory training, of engaging neighborhood goodwill and financial support for the several elements of common life. Every club and class is urged to hold the ties existing among its members as a contributing factor in broadening and strengthening those stirring local affiliations in which the lives of all citizens are rooted. The development of this kind of loyalty, as the settlement comes to its third period of evolution, represents both the contest and the prize.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE NEW SYNTHESIS OF LOCALITY

THE third stage in neighborhood upbuilding has its abiding distinction in more just and subtle analysis of local problems, more natural interplay between neighbors and residents, more responsive and vital common interests. The chief need is for trained persons willing to devote themselves, through personal and professional service, to the discovery of new circles of youth and adults capable of responding, on the one hand, to finer forms of individual and group culture, and on the other to opportunities of public service. Early settlement workers cried out against the danger of overindividualism; those of today see that growth of mechanical forms of socialization is an equally serious menace. The new leadership in recreation and education, the new democracy itself, awaits growth of that friendly co-operation which discovers and brings out the neighbors' power.

The long-continued residence of a group of men and women grounded in local traditions and acquainted with children's children which characterizes this stage, automatically brings about much of the fine flower of personal neighborly interest that residents in the stages of establishment and of institutional upbuilding have to create by strivings of spirit and by painstaking efforts to discover common interests. After years, the common things are of the normal stuff of living. Residents are able to think in neighborhood modes and acquire a kind of second sight about local affairs. They see districts not with the false simplicity of a doctrinaire, but in terms of ability and achievement.

Neighbors, on their part, accept residents as they do local lawyers, doctors, and school teachers. They apportion certain duties in education and recreation, and from time to time actually create new responsibilities for them. They talk plainly, reveal their deeper thought and desires, and help the settlement staff, individually and

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collectively, to realize its plans.¹ It goes without saying, however, that there are many persistent local cleavages. No district is ever harmonious. There is something invidious about individuals or groups, whether resident or nonresident, that initiate. But enlargement of the number of citizens who either actively or passively are willing to see neighborhood life built up and beautified represents a not inconsiderable gain. The strategy of such advance is to split solid inertia by appealing to temperamental interests of natural groups.

Plant and equipment, in this stage, tend to be decentralized. Separately located art and music schools, home-making centers, and other enterprises become special radiating satellites. The residence house assures those offices of hospitality which are so important a part both of settlement motive and method; and the higher standards which a host can set in his own rooms are gradually imparted to larger and more democratic gatherings.

The gains of this stage are based in important part on thorough-going knowledge of local social structure. Districts into which metropolitan areas subdivide are often cities, in point of numbers, containing from 25,000 to 125,000 people. These areas fall into what may be called, for want of a better term, subdistricts, with inhabitants varying from a few hundred to a score of thousands. The subdistricts divide again into neighborhoods, population of which ranges from a handful of families to several thousand persons. All communities of more than a few hundred people divide into smaller geographical areas or colonies, members of which are held together by unities of race, income, religious, or other affiliations, and not least important, claims of contiguity. Where these colonies are fairly well unified and their existence recognized both by inhabitants and bordering colonies, the settlement, when its resources permit, establishes a small household to share in the life of each such unit. For the settlement seeks to discover the effective

¹ On their part, however, people demand of residents the same permanence of stay and regular performance of function that is expected of physician, lawyer, and priest. Nothing injures the influence of a group so quickly as suspicion that its numbers are not vitally bound up with the neighborhood. When West Side Neighborhood House in New York was closed, working people all over the city voiced the fear that there was no permanence in settlements; they professed themselves unwilling to pledge neighborly allegiance and co-operation to transitory persons or institutions.

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groupings by area of people of different sorts and different ages into which human life naturally falls, and to devise appropriate machinery for meeting the exact needs of each group.

Small and preadolescent children, for the most part, live within a narrow geographic compass. In this preserve the growing boy and girl adventures to satisfy curiosity about the world and to match powers against contemporaries. Beyond bounds he is oppressed with the sense of territory alien if not hostile. Settlement clinics, story-telling classes, play hours, and other enterprises are increasingly decentralized and carried on in cottages, tenements, public libraries, schools, churches, wherever room can be obtained.

The organization of education and recreation for adolescent children must be very differently managed. As keenly as childhood craves protection of the familiar, youth desires extension of range. Establishment of an attractive and frequented local center within easy reach of all parts of a neighborhood or subdistrict, yet beyond the immediate home environment, is here a safeguard.

Group activities in this period are inspired by two important purposes: to create organs for the expression and satisfaction of special powers and interests; to make individuals and clubs alike conscious of neighborhood as a loyal end.¹ The roots of this enterprise are in the club and class system which has a definite significance in its totality. Competition between groups discloses fresh types of talent and hitherto unappreciated shades of ability. Families of members of different clubs cement acquaintance in a scene of neighborhood distinction. Currents of influence and goodwill are set in motion which reach out in ever widening circles. New and rich fruits from it are brought back into the better appreciated common treasure of the family. There comes to be a new sense of reinforced goodwill, finer aspiration and enterprise among people who above all must rely upon communal intrenchment of what is best. The time comes when enterprise originating at the settlement begins quite definitely to be shaped by the outside, objective life of the neighborhood. It is impossible to mark the precise transition from the lively follow-up of club work into the stage where neighborhood rather than settlement looms up as the institutional

¹ See Appendix, p. 423, Note XV.—Group Altruism.

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form in and through which large aims are worked out. But the reality is an increasing one.

Among the more important means for promoting growth of local consciousness are news sheets, house councils, festivals, pageants, and organizations of different sorts for local public betterment. A few houses publish a neighborhood newspaper, with editorials, social news of the local community, leading articles on home-making, nursing, public welfare, and short stories.¹ Through the neighborhood festival certain settlements make an impressive contribution and secure in different ways a vital response. Preparation draws in not only many of the neighbors but a variety of local institutions. A Robin Hood pageant, begun in 1909 by Greenwich House, New York, as a climax to club and class work, has developed into an important annual neighborhood enterprise which involves many different organizations in presentation and brings out a good share of the district to witness it. The pride which the community takes in its collective capacity to make a good showing, and in its importance as reflected in the public prints, makes it ready to venture into new fields.²

The house council represents a stage in advance of the club council in that chosen representatives of clubs legislate for and administer an indoor and outdoor neighborhood program. Its distinguishing quality lies in the fact that for certain purposes it is a body co-ordinated with the settlement governing board. Delegates are brought into touch with broad phases of social and civic work, present their point of view on equal terms with residents and board members, pass upon and revise new projects, acquire a constantly increasing experience of the machinery through which forward movements are brought to pass, and hold positions of influence upon matters over which they do not have actual authority. Reservations of power are in the main those which concern property.

Even this barrier is passed at Hudson Guild, where every aspect of internal administration has been placed in the hands of the house council, "subject only to trustees." This body is made up of one representative for every ten club members, although no club is

¹ Brooklyn Guild for two or three years issued a weekly which had a considerable circulation in its community and was truly a district newspaper.

² See Appendix, pages Note XVI. Festivals.

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allowed more than five representatives. The head resident sits ex-officio but without vote: he has the privilege of veto though the council can overrule. On its part the council is charged with the responsibility of raising a sufficient sum to cover heat, light, and cleaning, and the house committee of the council makes all contracts for coal, janitor's supplies, and service.¹

The significance of these experiments, which in themselves are small and halting enough, lies in the fact that working people, in the ordinary course of their lives, are almost altogether shut out from any share in administrative activity. A growing body of young people are learning in settlements how to assume the duty of planning and executing enterprises having a public outlook, and to enforce necessary rules, even against friends and neighbors, a rock upon which a considerable percentage of organizations break. The growing tendency to place school buildings and other communal equipment at the disposal of local groups can succeed only as a capable body of citizens are ready to preserve property against misuse and to develop a proper collective initiative.

The line between education for civic accomplishment and practical public achievement is passed in women's clubs. Various forms of simple co-operative action covering help in sickness, strain and distress, country vacations, and similar activities give expression to the "natural, noble village communism" of members. Woman, equally with man, is becoming a "political animal." Analysis of the difficulties of suffrage among men seems to show that a majority of wrong choices grow out of the fact that electorates are more frequently than not asked to decide upon persons and issues with which they are profoundly ignorant. Settlement clubs are training women voters, present and future, who are taking seriously their new duties, to think and act with knowledge and ideals upon issues of political life. The accredited leadership in municipal affairs attained by Miss McDowell and Miss Vittum in Chicago, where there

¹ "The work of the Guild is an attempt at self-education and self-government. . . . Probably the best people in the community are not able to govern themselves any too well; however, there is this in common among all people, that they get more out of self-government in the long run, or at least in participation in self-government, than they do out of any other form of management. . . . The Guild is trying to give such powers to and develop such responsibility in its club members that they will be able and willing to take a really useful part not only in the house but in the neighborhood and city as well."—Report of the headworker, 1910.

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have been several years in which to test the effects of woman suffrage, suggests what far-reaching results are likely to follow.

The lack of adult men's organizations as part of the settlement club scheme is particularly felt in relation to local affairs. There is, however, enough experience to make residents increasingly eager to secure those important gains for the community which men's clubs can bring about. A really remarkable achievement in this direction is that of University Settlement, Milwaukee, under the lead of Herbert H. Jacobs. During the Socialist régime in that city, the club numbered among its members two legislators, two aldermen, a civil judge, city attorney, commissioner of public works, and four deputies in county offices. Though it has never campaigned nor taken a partisan stand, the club is regarded as very much alive in public matters and absolutely unafraid. Mr. Jacobs' political independence has made it possible for him to be of unique service to the city in keeping up effective working relations between private agencies and the municipal administration.

There is ground for confidence that a new appeal to public spirit may go further in creating organization among men than did that of earlier days. As city populations become more stable, as interest in municipal affairs increases and another generation comes forward, a new civic alignment of neighborhood men will become a practicable undertaking. Among settlement acquaintance, and often among former club members, potential leaders appear. Many former saloon habitués who have made recovery of their domestic instincts will no doubt in due time discover within themselves the impulses of neighbor and citizen.

It is by no means true, however, that absence of club organization prevents residents from reaching neighborhood men in connection with their policy to bring about local public benefits. For one thing, the men most likely to care for the recreational aspects of a men's club are usually not those ready to undertake local civic responsibility. Even when improvements are secured from city government by means of city-wide support, men of the neighborhood are involved. Particular pains are taken to have them understand the process and intelligently to utilize the result. The immigrant who knows American public administration only as represented by the brass buttons of an arrogant policeman may

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doubt whether politically he has bettered himself. But when it is expressed to him and his family in health and pleasure-giving agencies, of which they have use equally with all others, this man receives a genuine lesson in the meaning of democracy.

Various devices have been created to enlarge the nucleus of citizens concerned about local municipal services. Residents seek to make their efforts to secure clean streets, regular and adequate collection of paper, ashes, and garbage, supervision of water and milk, enforcement of housing laws, suppression of vice, create a contagion in community thought and action. The men and women reached by such action are encouraged to commit themselves to an active demand for improvement by complaining in common. Fault-finding, an always available kind of expression which otherwise might go to waste, is focused and trained in directions where it will do the most good. Special meetings at which city officials and politicians are asked to be present are called to talk over definite local needs and to outline effective remedies. Local people, by combined action, begin, so to speak, to taste blood in the matter of citizenship. It is not accidental that the vote for good government in certain settlement neighborhoods in New York and Boston has been larger proportionately than in districts given over to those just above the unskilled and slightly skilled manual laborers. The training provided in settlement clubs and classes is bringing into being men and women able to discern their own welfare as concretely involved with that of neighbors.

Since 1905, neighborhood improvement associations, to some extent forecasted in the long-established village societies, have been built up in an ever increasing number of urban working-class communities. The reason for the gradual nature of this growth is clear enough. It required, on the one hand, the cumulative effect of the constructive scheme of the settlement to prepare the minds of neighborhood people; on the other hand, the expansion of its motive into an outreaching community program. The result is not one that comes by observation. It depends upon tested and confirmed acquaintance up and down the neighborhood with families who are in local terms public-minded. Settlement workers come to know just where to go in each block or court to fan the spark of interest among the men, and even more the sagacious women who,

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though they never speak in public nor take an active part in politics, are powers in committee meetings and in the personal approach to immediate neighbors. The settlement does in this case for the whole round of neighborhood need and aspiration what the politician does in the matter of vote-getting.

The work of eliciting natural leadership in the neighborhood is supplemented by aligning in each little subdivision the nucleus of families capable of reinforcing one another's better life and leanings, the households between which there is a constant flux of wholesome intercourse. The establishment of any specific sort of interest or pursuit in such groups insures for it a fair lease of life. The drawing out of these groups and the constantly increasing use of their cohesive power are among the most far-reaching phases of neighborhood work.

The earliest effort to systematize the organization of the community into small and hence manageable units, and to bring the people of such areas together for acquaintance and especially for common action, was put into operation by the head of Hudson Guild, John L. Elliott. The city block, at first blush, seems to possess most of the qualities needed in a community unit. It is clearly defined. It includes from 500 to 1,500 inhabitants, or about the number of people in a typical village. Denizens have, whether they wish it or not, a considerable number of experiences and not a few interests in common. Once a citizen begins to individualize those who live near, he cannot help being interested and concerned about their lives and fortunes.¹

It fails, however, at one crucial point: that of the distribution of natural leadership. It happens with considerable frequency in tenement neighborhoods that certain blocks do not contain available leaders with the personality, time, intelligence, and energy needed to keep in touch with neighbors and draw them together.² Experience shows that there are in city districts psychological neighbor-

¹ It is a moot question whether the block unit should be four square, including houses on the front street, two side streets, and back street; or should be made up of the two sides of a single street between two cross-streets. The latter unit usually represents much more of neighborly interchange.

² Dr. Elliott's block plan was energized by the Cincinnati Social Unit through paying one woman in each square to carry out the necessary visiting. These persons thereby became employed servants of the organization and could be held responsible for results of a routine sort. Settlement experience does not sustain such a method.

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hoods, or colonies, just as in towns and villages, the actual boundaries, institutions, natural sets, and leaders of which the local organizer must discover. These groupings generally transcend the block.

On the basis of his plan, Dr. Elliott proceeded to form a local improvement association open to all residents in the district. Members were secured from each block, who elected a committee to act as guardians of block interests. The executive committee was made up of block representatives who report illness, want, unsanitary conditions in their territory. The association raises money, appoints persons to visit the sick, gives assistance in kind and service, seeks employment for men, women, and youth out of work, appeals to city departments and private agencies for assistance in meeting needs beyond members' resource.

Several residents of South End House have had an active hand in building up a local improvement society which has been continuously active since 1907. In some respects conditions affecting the society are exceptionally favorable; in others peculiarly difficult. The section covered is almost entirely given over to lodging houses. The people are for the most part American and Canadian. Twenty years ago the tone of the district was low and public spirit had almost disappeared. By means of a room registry, acquaintance and working relations were established with some two hundred well-disposed lodging-house keepers, nearly all women. Next a woman's club was formed. These two organizations provided an informal system of surveillance including every block in the section, through which specific complaints could be made to the police and effectively followed up. Many criticisms of municipal sanitary services for removal of ashes and garbage and cleaning of streets and alleys led to a public meeting at which the people found a common voice. The group was given official assurance of better service on condition that it would report difficulties systematically and specifically.

This situation brought the improvement society into existence, and the persistent following up of such matters has been its characteristic line of action. It has, however, had much to do with securing a greatly needed new system of sewerage, repaving of many streets, and improved lighting for the main thoroughfare. Aside

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from a continuous succession of lesser achievements than these, it has brought several hundred men and women out of an attitude of universal distrust into a spirit of respect for many of their neighbors and readiness to work together confidently for the common good.

These are instances of a tendency which is expressing itself broadly in organized form in as many as one hundred settlements throughout the country. Indeed, with few exceptions, houses which have been in existence ten years are continuously, in greater or less degree, developing what is in essence the same method, though often its expression may be quite as genuine in spite of being informal. Such embodiment of local civic sentiment represents the beginning of a gradual process by which the mind of the common people may gather itself together, mobilize, and make the onset.

This method was developed during the period in which reformed municipal administration, like most forms of voluntary social work, has been dealing with the evils of local disintegration largely by eliminating local autonomy. The highly centralized city government of the present, with its tendency to place power in the hands of a few administrators, takes from local citizens that responsible hold upon public processes and officials which is in the long run indispensable to democracy. Government by a city manager, with heads of departments responsible to him, has great advantages. The individual settlement, by aligning itself with this tendency, has been able to secure for its community large new resources. In so doing it sets up a system of public services often far in advance of what district political leaders are capable of achieving.

But as soon as citizens begin to interest themselves in public life, needs and interests will again be represented by neighbors, and departmental activities which directly and universally concern all the citizens will be, in a substantial degree, locally controlled and administered. Looking to this time, the settlement is patiently working out a new educational method, which deals with intrinsic interests and undertakes to bring forward a body of people whose instincts as citizens shall come naturally and cumulatively out of the smart and zest of experience.

Foregleams of such a community are appearing. As it emerges it will of its own choice gather what seems worthy and lasting in

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the various projects which the settlement has sought to develop before it had come to corporate consciousness: a system of training for children and adolescents in the essence of productive citizenship and in the happy and beautiful exercise of their personal powers; some well-considered and tested approaches to just and advancing standards of earning and spending, with a clear outlook toward co-operative participation in both; something of a locally applied science for the enhancement of health and vitality, protection of public morals, and administration of education and recreation for the fulfilment and exaltation of life.

Thus place fellowship, in the new potency which the settlement discovers within it, intimates the possibility not only of civic regeneration but of a more creative, more human order of society.



VII

GRASP AND REACH



CHAPTER XXXIII

SETTLEMENT FACTORS

TAKING the settlement as an agency in itself, five groups enter into its scheme of organization: the resident staff, non-resident volunteers or associate workers, financial supporters, board of governors or council, and neighborhood participants. The settlement holds no brief in favor of importing outsiders to carry on neighborhood affairs. Wherever possible, all of these groups should be composed of local citizens, and the financial charges be borne by the several joint partners. If, however, the resources of skill, leadership, and money are insufficient to demands of physical and moral well-being, men and women of goodwill from without must lend a hand; and if the manner of life is un-American, responsible citizens generally are in duty bound to act. These principles, embodied and demonstrated in the career of five hundred American settlements, were, by revelations of the war period, made axiomatic.¹

The qualities sought in residents are few but important: character, natural ability, advanced if not professional training, power of initiative, vision, sympathy, instinct for team play, and capacity to mingle with all sorts and conditions of people in simplicity of spirit. In the case of administrators and heads of departments, these traits should be combined with something of the artist's instinct for organizing his material into a pattern at once serviceable and beautiful; and there must be an underlying potentiality for uniting morality, practical living, and something of statecraft into a vita whole. The fine tradition established by Canon Barnett, that the quality chiefly to be desired in house members is a genuine desire to understand life and to foster its highest and most democratic expressions, remains the touchstone by which neophytes are tested. The majority of residents continue to be recruited from

¹ See Appendix, p. 427, Note XVII.—Initiating Forces.

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institutions of higher education, though exemplars of any department of knowledge and skill are enlisted as need dictates.¹

A single resident could hardly make a settlement; nor do several individuals of monotonously similar ideas and powers suggest that diversity, richness, and complexity of experience, power, and aim which are characteristic of many settlement households. At its best a resident staff is a miniature world of culture and resource. The most effective groups include men and women, young and old, married and unmarried, who represent that range of interests, training, and opinion which is likely to meet the variety of life in the neighborhood. In addition to natural antithesis of age, sex, and conjugal status it is of decided advantage to have in the house representatives of leading local nationalities and traditions. The presence in particular of communicants of the dominant faiths secures a more adequate and sympathetic interpretation of the people's mind, keeps the house in a degree of religious fellowship with them, and serves to clergy as a guarantee of fair play.²

Closely involved with the principle of residence is continuity of service. The motive power of settlements in whatever stage of development is the nucleus of experienced residents. While maintaining that readiness for spontaneous ways and motives which is the settlement's source not only of attraction but of energy, they carry on its traditions, interpreting the local community to new residents and even on occasion to a new headworker. They steadily hold for the house the confidence of the neighbors.

What the personnel of a house can accomplish varies directly with the average length of stay of the headworker and the responsible directors of departments. Frequent infusion of fresh energy into every resident group is, on the other hand, to be desired. The local demand for novelty is thus met, and older members of the staff are stimulated to fresh enthusiasm. The quickness with which newcomers are received into neighborhood fellowship, once they are recognized as of the settlement family, is among the most striking facts about long-established houses. It is part of the

¹ See Appendix, p. 428, Note XVIII.—Resident Personnel, for further discussion of qualities desired in residents, conditions under which they live and work, and the duties and opportunities of directors and staff workers.

² See Appendix, p. 435, Note XIX.—Interplay of Religious Loyalties.

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scheme of things to make opportunity for exceptionally able men and women who are willing to give a short period of intensive service.

The quality above all others which gives distinction and force to good work is capacity of the staff for team play. While the importance of securing strong individuals cannot be overemphasized, that sense of loyalty to one another, to the household as a working unit, and to the enterprise as a whole which characterize settlements at their best, is a priceless possession. The interplay between men and women interested in the progress of art, science, and politics rubs off crudeness and disciplines thought. Responsible discussion about broad questions of a changing civilization; stir of participation in local, city, state, and national reforms; daily first-hand contact with the dramatic cross-currents which attend political action, are in high degree vitalizing to intellect and spirit. Frequent guests from the city at large and visitors from many parts of the country and from other nations prevent a too parochial outlook.

The individuality of each settlement and the range and scope of its work are determined by the number in residence, proportion of men and women, average length of service, and the interests of members. The strongest groups include men and women in nearly equal proportions. A considerable number of houses with mature organization and recognized standing are in possession of equipment and resource sufficient to attract and maintain a staff of twenty or more. Leadership for any live local interest is easily obtained either from residents or by a call for volunteers.

The entire force at settlements which have from four to ten residents is necessarily held to the immediate tasks of visitation, administration of clubs and classes, and co-operation with other agencies. Despite often severe limitations of money and service and by the very consistency of their local work, houses of this size frequently isolate community problems of great importance and outline means for their solution.

For the proper organization of community life a considerable breadth and momentum of initiative is needed. Residents as administrators of a complex enterprise are bound to be informed about the latest and best results of research and experience in the sciences which directly affect the art of life. They must therefore be in

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touch with forward-looking institutions, groups, and individuals. Volunteer associates are sought among persons of action and affairs, business and professional men, musicians, artists, athletes, leaders of social intercourse. These contribute whatever they possess of power to influence others for the satisfaction of filling out democratic fellowship across dividing lines, and induction into the mysteries of promoting co-operative action. Nearly all houses rejoice in some volunteers with an inbred sense of communal responsibility, who often contribute a precious kind of sagacity, gained through family tradition, personal observation and consultation with men and women interested in affairs, to the betterment of one or another aspect of neighborhood life.

The fact that so large a share of the institutional activities of settlements is with children and young people makes the assistance of those who have barely passed through adolescence peculiarly valuable. Young men and women about to enter professional life bring not only fresh feelings and ready understanding of youthful impulses, but up-to-date views and technique, unprejudiced interest in human beings, and readiness to strike out in new directions. Not infrequently they turn up situations the full meaning of which has escaped notice of older staff workers. Adults over forty are peculiarly dependent on youths' interpretation of youth.¹

Responsibility to the community for financial obligations, value of program, character and ability of force rests, in the last analysis, upon boards of directors. This body, like resident staff and corps of volunteers and for the same reasons, should contain as wide a variety of interests as possible, including representatives of the major professions and the various departments of affairs. Neighborhood representation is unusual, not because it has not been sought, but because working people are hardly ever ready to match authority with responsibility, and themselves feel distinctly at a loss, when brought face to face with large and crucial problems of equipment, staff, and the standard of the settlement as an educational agency. Exceptions are in districts virtually middle-class. On the other hand it is true that neighbors sometimes fear control of the settlement by outsiders who are little involved. This entirely reasonable attitude finds its expression through the con-

¹ See Appendix, p. 436, Note XX.—Non-resident Associates.

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siderable and growing range of influence which is exercised by club and house councils. Here neighbors are strongly represented, have solid stakes, and act with full assurance upon issues that have positive significance to them. Such share in administration seems to represent the normal avenue through which neighborhood control will develop. The councils spur residents to secure full consideration by boards of directors of neighborhood points of view, though the stimulus is rarely needed. This practice suggests one of several reasons for providing substantial residential representation on the governing board.¹

The most important concrete responsibility of the board is selection of a headworker, and through him or her of the salaried and volunteer residents and assistants. The broad principles involved in the program are usually determined in outline by the governing body on the basis of recommendations made by the staff. The feeling of seasoned residents that, subject to these principles, they, a loyal group about a resident leader in first-hand daily contact with a complicated and elusive situation, should initiate and carry out the working policy of the house, represents one of the most vital phases of settlement administration.²

Settlement workers created the profession of local community organization. Among the qualities shown to be necessary in a headworker, several stand out as absolute prerequisites. First is an instinctive bias toward democracy as a system of thought and a plan of life, reinforced by a true, though not necessarily striking, capacity for sociability. Some of the ablest head residents do not naturally possess the innate zest for camaraderie which distinguishes a successful ward leader; though, what is more to the point, they are almost always masters of the art of creating and disseminating a spirit of fellowship under conditions of dignity and honor.

The successful settlement leader must, however, through some sort of personal power, be able to stimulate the local community to gather its resources for solution of its own difficulties. A certain type of headworker in the past has stood somewhat apart from the human interplay of the neighborhood, and through skill in analysis

¹ See Appendix, p. 437, Note XXI.—Boards.

² See Appendix, p. 440, Note XXII.—Head Residents.

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presented a case before officials and citizens which brought about substantial benefits. Less and less is it possible to secure results at arm's length, and the community organizer of the future must exercise leadership through participation. That this sort of power is rare is generally admitted.

The spiritual energy which is the mark of good settlements must be generated and sustained by their leaders. They must carry new residents over the first feeling of helplessness and desolation, find a place for each, often through many readjustments, with due regard for disposition and ability; mediate between varying and sometimes conflicting temperaments, help to overcome the depression, loneliness, and homesickness that from time to time grow out of exceptional relations and surroundings. They must direct the activity of residents, teachers, and associates who carry on clubs, classes, and other stated undertakings, and of interested neighbors, so as to bring out the characteristic skill of each individual; weld all these forces into a loyal group; secure from this highly complex instrument maximum results of knowledge, experience, and power.

Financing of settlements, on account of the complexity of interests involved, is characterized by niceties of policy, easily misunderstood or neglected. Contributors at practically all houses are organized into an association, membership in which carries the tacit implication of moral support. Methods of solicitation are patterned upon those employed by colleges and scientific institutions. Public entertainments, fairs and similar enterprises, and forms of appeal which trade on the insufficiency either of individuals or groups are, in large degree, avoided.¹

Nearly all houses at some period in their histories have had to take a stand upon issues which for the time made their financial problems more difficult. Experience has clearly shown, however, that aside from the inestimable spiritual gains of a program of breadth and freedom, houses administered with vision and courage ere long win a loyal body of support. Financial struggle has been the mark of all influential settlements; those heavily funded rarely show equal vitality.

The part taken by a board in raising money is affected in impor-

¹ See Appendix, p. 441, Note XXIII.—Financial Associations.

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tant measure by the way in which the house originated. Settlements established by churches, clubs, and educational agencies, or by voluntary committees, naturally face the question of support as part of the detail of organization. Houses founded by residents themselves, which included most early ventures, were at first financed through their efforts. Gradually, as the number of supporters increase, boards of directors were found willing to assume regular responsibility toward raising funds. Such transition should not be made until the board fully appreciates the experimental motive at the basis of the settlement idea, since it is all too easy for directors to fall into an attitude of merely protecting already established activities. It will, perhaps, always be necessary for the headworker to prove the case for experiment, and if necessary to secure needed funds for it.

In a number of settlements head residents organize the financial campaign and personally secure the bulk of needed income. The leader in practical work is thus brought into mutually educational relations with public-spirited business men and large-minded responsible women of means. Capacity for analysis and exposition is tested at every step, actual achievement is measured, and new projects criticized. These gains go far toward compensating for loss of time from neighborhood service involved in the collection of money.

Neighborhood support in the form of fees amounts in a large number of houses to about a tenth of the budget. Moderate sums toward erection of new buildings, and toward such equipment as flagpoles, flags, street clocks, gymnasium apparatus, pictures, and books are raised by clubs.¹ An increasing number of houses are in possession of more or less substantial endowments. This relieves the head resident, in important measure, not only from burden and uncertainty but from a certain personal embarrassment. The fact that his

¹ The general expense account of the settlement appeals in much slighter degree to neighborhood givers. In a few instances, chief of which is Hudson Guild, neighbors, subscribers, and board of managers unite in organizing and carrying on an annual bazaar. This event brings all parties at interest together for work and play, promotes acquaintance, and helps with the sinews of war. Several houses, among them College Settlement, Philadelphia, and Lincoln House, Boston, call upon small business people of the neighborhood for contributions to the regular work of the house. University Settlement, New York, has come to be loyally supported by graduates who have moved out of the neighborhood.

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salary is not paid out of current receipts puts him in a much stronger position with contributors. But it is nowhere felt to be desirable that the entire settlement income should come from endowments. Each year's work should present its lessons and justify its appeal.

The organization and administration of a settlement are decidedly conditioned by the attitude of supporters and residents toward religious instruction in the house, toward the way in which local reform may be expected to come to pass, and toward the immediate capacity of neighbors to participate in management. Religious affiliations of initiators, supporters, and administrators are important, because they color the activities which can be undertaken and the local response that may be expected. Most religious agencies seek extension of a certain set of ideas. Sectarian settlements, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, are effective in communities where the people are of like faith, but they find serious difficulty in planning for a religiously cosmopolitan locality or for neighborhoods in process of change.

The largest and most influential group of settlement leaders living in cosmopolitan localities, whatever their personal beliefs, order the work under their charge so as to exclude all sectarian influence in government, administration, and activities of the house. Nearly all, of their own choice, would earnestly desire their work to have the fullness and power that inclusion of a vital religious program gives. One of the bitter fruits of sectarianism, however, is the unwillingness of many people to accept even the simplest human overtures under a religious banner other than that to which they are attached. Settlements making no religious appeal are able to rehabilitate many of the human values of the parish system. A group of such houses co-operating can cover a great section of the city and assume a measure of moral responsibility for the solid body of its inhabitants in some such way as the church did before it was rent asunder.¹

¹While it is almost impossible for houses directly affiliated with religious organizations to attract a broad neighborhood constituency in cosmopolitan areas the miracle occasionally happens. Chicago Commons and Union Settlement, New York, organized churches to minister to persons not otherwise cared for; both, however, grant the use of their rooms to struggling congregations of other faiths and denominations. It is made clear in both cases that what goes on in the religious center is distinctly separate and apart from the characteristic activity of the settle-

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Houses organized and supported by churches and carrying on religious instruction as part of an institutional program, constitute a considerable group. Nearly all of these, among which are included those that have grown out of Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, King's Daughters, and other specialized agencies, carry on some form of Protestant religious activity even where the house is located in a neighborhood chiefly Catholic or Jewish. Meetings of clubs and classes are sometimes opened with Bible readings, hymns, or prayers; there are Sunday schools, Sunday evening services, and mid-week prayer meetings. Residents are likely to be expert and zealous in methods of Protestant revivalism. Their claim to undenominationalism is true only within the range of Protestant sects.

A number of churches have been stimulated, by the example and influence of settlements, to organize and maintain institutional activities of a high grade. Clubs and classes in their parish houses are often carried on in a spirit of broad liberality and are of real assistance to large groups of families. But such effort is always frankly subordinate to religious activities, a fact recognized by the neighborhood.

The rescue mission situated among the foreign born, which calls itself a settlement on the basis of a few clubs and classes, has been from the first a serious factor in creating misunderstanding about neighborhood work, both among people of the district and the public at large. A certain taint of dishonor is cast on the essential honesty and good faith of the church that supports it. The mission serves no specific local purpose and throws settlement work into disrepute. The already difficult problem of reconciling first and second generation among Jewish and Catholic immigrants is made harder.

Though for two decades the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to the settlement was non-committal where it was not antagonistic, an increasing body of its people, lay and clerical, feel the value of social work and the importance of neighborhood re-

ment. These examples are but exceptions which prove the rule. Other houses similarly organized severed their official religious connections and placed themselves upon incontrovertible ground as to sectarian neutrality. In these instances it was soon found, as is commonly the case, that there is no real lack of churches and missions, while there is tragic paucity of organizations that can supply neighborhood need.

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construction.¹ This change of attitude is being brought to pass through efforts of young Catholics who believe that the church must recognize the influence of economic and community conditions on religion. Overwork, underpayment, and careless ways of association affect loyal fulfilment of religious obligations and weaken home training of children. Immigrants especially need the resourceful secular assistance of the church, lest in the general disintegration of group life in a new country they lose the values of religious tradition. A serious danger, from the point of view of the church, is that children of Catholic immigrants may grow up conceiving American citizenship as indifferent to religion.

Of settlements which work among Jews, the larger number are organized and supported by non-Jews; but an important group of local centers is conducted specifically by Jews for Jews.² Such agencies aim to make the immigrant Jew as efficient as possible, so that he may progress into a more desirable quarter. The neighborhood is looked upon as a receiving station, the first step in an assured series. Officers are quite frank in stating that should their people move, the agency would follow or be given up. Certain such centers, as time passes and successive waves of population continue Jewish, develop a substantial neighborhood sense and come clearly within the settlement fraternity.

Hardly less a factor in coloring the work of various houses than their outlook on religious instruction, is the philosophy of progress held by those in charge. One wing among the settlements takes the ground that society is co-ordinated as individuals become wiser and more moralized; these seek the conversion of young people to canons of correct living. The house devotes its resources to discovering able and tractable children, developing their powers, and assisting their progress. Such centers tend to specialize in education, religion, or charity. Work of the staff is usually devoted and careful, and manifests a high degree of concern for personal character and family life. If proselytism be avoided, the house often

¹ Between ten and twenty houses organized, administered, and financed by Catholics open their classes, clubs, and recreational opportunities freely to Protestants and Jews. The faith of non-Catholic children is carefully respected.

² There are 31 settlements organized and financed by non-Jews which are carried on for the benefit of Jews, and 28 settlements organized and maintained by Jews for Jews.

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carries on, with success, a good share of the more formal undertakings common to settlements and sometimes attains a general acquaintance with its neighborhood.

By contrast, there are a few residents who feel that the chief duty and opportunity of persons interested in furthering democracy is to assist existing wage-earners' organizations and to form new ones. They believe the necessity for taking funds from well-to-do, and assumption of institutional responsibilities, injure the spirit of the house and disqualify it to participate in people's lives.¹ Advocates of this view usually withdraw from the settlement to become organizers in trade unions and similar associations.

The majority of residents hold that their chief service is to prepare people and particularly the young for greater and more responsible participation in industry, government, and higher leisure-time interests. The settlement is to be "the yeast that starts the social rising."² Their point of view reaches widely enough to include those who may look to a comprehensive reorganization of society. Crudities, mistakes, or even hoodlumism are tolerated with patience because only through enduring the pains as well as enjoying the fruits of democracy can citizens learn how to govern themselves and how to unite for co-operative production. The business of the neighborhood organizer is hopefully to urge forward such work among the foundations, and to assure those groups which show themselves capable of collective self-management ever increasing opportunities of expansion and fulfilment.

The attitude of residents toward the significance of locality in bringing about reform also has an important influence on the structure of certain houses. A not inconsiderable proportion of residents live in the neighborhood without seeking to affect its public life. They organize clubs and classes, become acquainted with a number of adults, and occupy a real place among the people. Their influence is for good in the lives of individuals and families with whom they are in close relations; but they only infrequently take the initiative in movements for public improvement.

¹ An early statement of this attitude is found in Edward King's review of Stanton Coit's *Neighbourhood Guilds*, published in *Charities Review*, pp. 77-86, December, 1891.

² John L. Elliott.

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By contrast, some settlement leaders, few in number but important in influence, exercise their chief function in carrying out experiments, instigating civic enterprise, and in reinforcing local forms of organization. They believe that the neighborhood is a unit within which suggestive types of social work may be focused, with a view to discovering results which by extension may be applied throughout the city. Such undertakings have been carried on by persons of great ability and from that fact have gained unique value.

The majority of houses the country over seek to secure fulfilment of all functional needs of the neighborhood in which they have thrown their lot. The scope of resident activity may be as broad and inclusive as local government, and as detailed and homely as that of the ward politician. By knowing every nook and cranny of the community, by establishing acquaintance both at the rallying center and outer circumference, by tracking the subtle course of multitudinous interests which shape local material and moral welfare, and by entering into human fellowship with men, women, and children both in their more public and in their more secluded round of life the settlement seeks to set in motion currents of good opinion which, as they interact and reinforce one another, affect families as families, village groups found in particular blocks and streets, and the loyalties, political, industrial, and moral, which hold neighborhood people in general together. Such ends cannot be secured merely by organizing clubs and classes. They are the result of initiating, accompanying, and following up organization with many sorts of adventurous acquaintance and intercourse. This opens the way toward assimilating into local life many city-wide services, public and voluntary, and toward the incitement of distinctively local forms of association and leadership. This policy by no means prevents the exercise of influence beyond accepted regional bounds. It is indeed the settlements of this prevailing type which, of recent years, have been effectively integrating their forces, and giving front to their cause, in the large scene of the city

CHAPTER XXXIV

CITY FEDERATIONS

IT IS one of the distinctive sources of the quality of fascination which the settlement has for its adherents that, in however small a scene, they feel themselves participating in a wide-reaching enterprise. Each responsible member of the staff finds that his or her work is serving in some degree to shape a typical scheme of neighborhood evolution which will carry suggestion and stimulus far beyond local bounds. Apparently careless about multiplication of its kind, the settlement has trusted the winds to carry the seed; but its attitude has been a mark of confidence in the spreading and reduplicating power of its motive. This confidence has found its specific justification in upwards of five hundred establishments in the United States which sufficiently bear the original impress. Today still wider dissemination of the settlement motive is in forms that distinguish themselves from it, but the origin of which is unmistakable; these forms have not a little to impart, but must continue to draw sustenance from the parent stem.

Settlements from the first were conscious of the city in its entirety as a vast composite problem, as a great community against which their combined forces must, in due time, be integrated. The actual alignment of the several houses among themselves came out of the duty of uniting to gain results necessary in each locality but not to be accomplished within the limits of a neighborhood. Residents from different houses began very early to exchange results of their first broad common experience, that of acting as voluntary and in a few cases official inspectors for municipal departments. Here and there two houses pooled forces to secure more careful and frequent collection of ashes and garbage, to obtain a public playground, to control prostitution. Something in the nature of informal committees to carry continuous responsibilities of this sort

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came into being. About 1900 the swarming instinct began to assert itself.

The first association of settlements, that formed in 1894 in Chicago, was city-wide. Its early meetings were devoted to distress caused by business depression, though there was also exchange of news about difficulties encountered in club and class work. Dread of anything suggesting outside control of individual houses was strongly felt; therefore little in the nature of combined practical action was undertaken, and a tradition was created under which the bond of inter-settlement organization was held lightly.

The earliest systematic attempt by several settlements to unite forces for the purpose of defining district problems and securing their solution through appeal to city and state took place in Boston. The South End Social Union in 1899 found its cue in a district situation. Located in what Edward Everett Hale once described as the most charited district in Christendom, the federated settlements passed a rule that no person should be in regular membership at more than one house, and arranged to exchange lists of members at least once a year. A scheme of neighborhood bounds, following geographic, economic, and racial lines of separation, was adopted. This move not only eliminated competition between houses, but established the conception of special duty and opportunity within and to a given locality. Federation thus had the effect of emphasizing the individuality of each house. A similar organization was formed a few years later to cover the North and West Ends; and in 1908 the district federations combined in the Boston Social Union.¹

The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers, which in 1919 became the United Neighborhood Houses, was organized in 1900, and in 1905 the New Jersey federation, organized in March

¹ By 1904 a definite code had been evolved which has been in force ever since. In 1908 a general card catalogue was prepared, an office secured and placed in charge of a paid assistant secretary. The question of districting is always a live one in the Union. While there is still an occasional member who, agreeing theoretically with the district plan, has felt practically hampered, yet it is the consensus of opinion that through it the settlements have gained greatly in the reality and influence of their work.

The development of settlement federation in Boston, from its beginnings, has owed much to Ellen W. Coolidge, secretary of South End Social Union, later secretary of Boston Social Union, and at present official representative in France of the National Federation of Settlements

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of that year, expanded the method to include the state. The Baltimore and Washington federation formed in 1906 reached across a state boundary. Since 1906 federations have been created in Brooklyn, Buffalo, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Richmond.¹

The new background provided by federation leads to systematic comparison of notes about the several types of work maintained at the various houses, such as club activities for both sexes at different age periods, instruction in hygiene, home-making and dancing, visiting service. Out of such conferences a committee system develops which means, at least during formative periods, a comprehensive organization of these specialized services. A certain dignity is thus imparted to each phase of service, which as a fractional part of the work of individual settlements it could not have. Less experienced directors at the more recently established houses are brought under the influence of a kind of professional loyalty, while exceptionally capable exponents of specialties are given a wider opportunity of leadership. From the point of view of educational administration, this inter-departmental method affords something of the values represented by supervisors in a public school system in contrast with the work of general superintendence.

This principle, from time to time, leads a federation to employ a director in dramatics, gardening, or some other subject, whose full time no one settlement could expect to reserve. Services of such leaders are shared among various houses, a portion of each week being set apart for plans undertaken in the name of the federation as a whole.² Through this circuit-riding method certain residents and associates at each house develop into skilled assistants; and more proficient members of clubs and classes at various settlements are brought into working fellowship.

¹ According to the best practice, city federations are made up formally of a group of constituent houses, each house having one vote. Individuals are received as members without vote. General meetings take place usually once a month at one of the houses. Boston and New York federations maintain offices and secretaries. Funds are raised in the beginning through small fees supplemented by gifts from houses, with occasional subscriptions from individual donors for special purpose. The later tendency is to raise the budget by a membership tax proportioned on annual income.

² This director usually lives at one of the settlements, or makes a series of visits as a temporary resident at several.

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These steps toward more thorough inter-settlement organization by departments usually lead to appointment of committees on standards, which set down as specifically as may be what is desirable and practicable in equipment, training workers, record keeping, detailed conduct of club and class work, managing entertainments and parties, and developing a visiting system. Development of these several ways of co-operation among houses increases wholesome emulation and reduces the tendency to narrow rivalry. Judgment comes to be based on fact; ill-considered condemnation is replaced by constructive suggestion and the growth of the habit of mutual aid.¹

Removal of overlapping and the establishment of definite territorial responsibility are, in some of their aspects, important parts of the work of most federations. Each house becomes a recognized authority concerning its own neighborhood. The federation comes to public knowledge as a distinctive agency striving to secure an integrated and co-ordinated grasp on the facts of life in great working-class districts of the city.

The policy of inducing the municipality or well-equipped voluntary associations broadly to apply forms of service demonstrated at settlements is strongly reinforced through federation. Several houses experiment with each given type of work and study its adaptation in different kinds of neighborhoods. Claims of the new enterprise are presented effectively to municipality and general public in the name both of neighborhood and supporting constituencies. City federations have been particularly influential in bringing municipalities to devise comprehensive playground systems.

When the municipality has organized a new service the federation provides from locality to locality that reasonable surveillance with classification of results so essential to any city-wide undertaking. In the not uncommon event of failure to carry the enterprise through, the federation sometimes assumes responsibility until the argument is once more made convincing to the public.²

¹ Experience shows a distinct difference in this respect between cities in which the settlements are and are not actively federated.

² The Boston Social Union established and carried on gardening as an object lesson to the public school administration. After several years garden work was assumed by the school board. It was soon dropped, however. The Union took up the gardens again on a broader scale and maintained them until they were resumed by the school system.

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Federation fosters an extensive system of law enforcement, cognizant of facts in their full range, that is ready to function. Among the first uses settlement federations make of their strength is to sustain the work of housing commissions. For these material of great value has been assembled and detailed support provided in efforts for better administration of tenement laws.¹ Even more significant has been the creation of a solid demand for the thorough enforcement of outdoor sanitary laws in crowded neighborhoods. The first comprehensive idea of juvenile delinquency as a problem to be followed up closely in the districts in which it was most evident originated through team play among settlements. The united houses are a continuous vigilance force, on the one hand bringing facts about gambling, thieving, and immorality to the attention of police, and on the other, formulating a general policy of preventive work. In the case of newsboys, bootblacks, and messengers who carry on their tasks to so great an extent outside neighborhood limits, the problem has to be handled for the city as a whole.²

In dealing with moral problems affecting child life the individual settlement is bound to take account of the results of its action on local public sentiment. Federation represents the city as a whole: its action casts no reflections on any particular locality. Its committees study commercial amusement resorts and work in conjunction with police and with societies for the regulation of morals, forcing proprietors of drinking-places, pool-rooms, dance halls, theaters, motion picture shows, and amusement parks to obey the law.³

The maintenance of cordial relations and co-operation with centrally organized societies sending out family visitors is of immediate crucial importance to neighborhood agencies. Upon matters in which both types of service are agreed, federation pro-

¹ The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers, through residents, club members, and volunteers, undertook a survey of various streets in tenement neighborhoods, and sent a report of findings to the commissioner of streets and to the mayor. It requested that special attention be given to crowded neighborhoods during warm weather. In 1907-1908, as a result of the report of the association, the commissioner placed rubbish cans at street corners, and issued cards in four languages asking the co-operation of householders. Householders and merchants who offended against the sanitary ordinances were complained against.

² See Appendix, p. 442, Note XXIV.—Street Trades.

³ See Appendix, p. 443, Note XXV.—Commercial Amusement Resorts.

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motes swift and productive interchange. The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers responded at once to the campaign against tuberculosis, now national and international, as soon as it was instituted by the Charity Organization Society. Federation is, however, not less valuable in cases of divergence. The well-nigh universal disagreement between settlements and organized charity ten years ago on the question of widows' pensions was in good part a manifestation of opinion crystallized and pointed through federation. Productive co-operation between the baby hygiene association and the settlements of at least one city dates from an ultimatum presented by the federation with regard to local facts and issues the significance of which had been persistently ignored. Only through united action is it possible to bring home effectively to the public authorities the fact that there is a science of localized adjustment as well as of centralized efficiency.

The promotion of new legislation as a separate phase of federated activity has not been continuously prominent. There are always a few resident groups which, magnifying the duties of neighborliness, respond but slowly to any broad-scale program before the public, and perhaps last of all to proposals for new legislation. Among the whole settlement personnel of a city, only a few experienced residents will have given much attention to such work, and the majority enlist in it but gradually. One marked advantage of this attitude is that the possibilities of existing statutes are likely to be thoroughly followed up before new laws are proposed, and federation facilitates the local testing process. While it is true that all federations give general support to certain measures from year to year brought forward by various other agencies, committees on legislation more and more limit their energies to a few bills which can be supported with united power.¹ Proposals that come directly out of actual settlement experience are emphasized. Eye witnesses and participants who speak of what they have seen and experienced from street to street and neighborhood to neighborhood, have a peculiar degree of authority with legislators. Such natural influence

¹ In New York and Boston there has all along been continuous federated effort of this rather scattered sort. In New York, since 1906, the plan has been incidentally to assist other societies interested in legislation, but in the main to limit the Association of Neighborhood Workers to bills which vitally affect neighborhood. The Social Union has followed very much the same policy.

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is lost when settlement representatives appear in support of a variety of measures upon the merits of which they can have only a general opinion.

Though the number of new laws sought by settlement groups purposely has been kept small, two of the most important legislative developments of the generation, from the point of view of more intelligent and resourceful democracy, trace their beginnings, in an important degree, to neighborhood houses; namely, the movement for abolition of child labor and the effort to bring about universal vocational education. The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers was a pioneer in connection with child labor; the Boston Social Union in the matter of vocational education.

Among early acts of the New York association was the appointment of a committee on child labor. The group not only collected results of settlement experience, but enlisted outside individuals and organizations and drew up a bill safeguarding the child's right to education against low-grade parents and grasping employers. As effects of the law on boys and girls, home, school, and local industries became clear, needed amendments were obtained. An historic interest attaches to this enterprise since the committee, after a time, became the State Child Labor Committee and later the nucleus of the National Child Labor Committee, which has accomplished truly noteworthy results.

The services of federation in the advancement of vocational education also represent an important contribution to national welfare. In the days before public school authorities were interested the subject was taken up with spontaneous unanimity first by Boston settlements and then by those of New York, Baltimore, and Chicago. In each city results of consequence were secured, and momentum given to an educational policy which soon had a marked effect on municipal, state, and national action.

In like manner, associated action among settlements in New York and in Chicago has been a vital factor in calling attention to certain important aspects in the treatment of immigrants. The first suggestion for the New York State Committee on Immigration was put before Governor Hughes in 1907 at a dinner of the Association of Neighborhood Workers held at Henry Street Settle-

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ment. Miss Wald was appointed a member of the commission. The findings of the commission have also had an important influence upon the action of other states than New York and of the national government.

The discovery and utilization of power which resides in the continually increasing intelligence and collective capacity of settlement constituencies is an important motive of federation. The humble beginnings of such work may be traced back to exchange of information between residents about institutions and resorts offering the rarer intellectual and esthetic pleasures. When federations began to get under way they assumed as a regular service the issuing of bulletins descriptive of art museums and art schools, called attention to opportunities for instruction in the arts and crafts and the securing of properties and dramatic materials, and conducted groups of children, aggregating large numbers, to museums, parks, and historic monuments.¹

In Boston and New York inter-settlement dances are organized, for the purpose of creating what will be remembered as a notable social event, with residents and members of women's clubs as chaperons. The Boston Social Union arranges inter-settlement dinners largely attended by young men and young women club members. Distinguished speakers are usually invited, but addresses given by some of the young people are even more memorable. Because dramatic art makes the liveliest of all educational appeals to neighborhood young people, the giving of plays furnishes a highly important means of educational intercommunication among settlements. Federations see that especially good performances at one house are repeated at others. At intervals of years inter-settlement dramatic companies, made up of the best players from different houses, are formed and performances of standard dramas presented in some central place. Inter-settlement debating in several cities provides an educational stimulus for small groups. The most rewarding effort, however, toward inter-settlement club relations thus far has been found in the mass meetings of settlement women's clubs, which have been held in New

¹ In 1908 the New York Association of Neighborhood Workers issued a bulletin descriptive of available art museums and schools of art instruction. Within the past few years a bulletin has been prepared outlining courses in various art crafts and giving sources of material for festivals.

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York under the lead of John L. Elliott, an undertaking realized after years of consecutive effort at the different houses in connection with the individual organizations.

The logic of such enterprise finds its most unqualified expression in connection with athletics. Here local group initiative strikes out most confidently into inter-neighborhood relations. Baseball leagues have been maintained with a considerable degree of continuity in the larger cities. Tournaments in track athletics are quite common. On the whole, basketball, being the one vigorous game that can be played indoors in winter, has been the most available inter-settlement sport. It will easily be appreciated that all the benefits and all the dangers that go with this great interest at colleges present themselves to settlements; and here young men residents who have had responsible experience of intercollegiate athletics work out some of the most important issues in the whole scheme of settlement federation.¹

One very important result of inter-settlement athletics, and in general of inter-settlement recreative occasions, is that they bring together young people of capacity from different parts of the city into that wider acquaintance which they so deeply crave, and give to such interchange a higher quality than it would otherwise have. The fact that it is through a similar process that political machines are constantly recruited, leads settlements to take deliberate pains that this wider acquaintance shall grow in a sound environment. Boston settlements are gradually bringing about such relations, summer and winter, among boys whom, to the number of from three to four hundred yearly, they send to caddy camps in connection with White Mountain hotels. Leaders feel that through interchange in camp and at reunions, the wholesome loyalties that are the essence of the plan will help create a new type of organized political leadership. At this point the co-ordinated

¹ Inter-settlement gatherings usually go on at the local houses where, naturally enough, the representative neighborhood groups dominate the scene. For some years, however, there has been an increasing tendency to organize such events on an impressive scale. The New York United Neighborhood Houses hold athletic tournaments in an armory. In different cities the final contest between winners of inter-settlement games is often played in one of the best known halls for such purposes, before audiences composed of representatives of all houses belonging to the federation. Pageants, picnics, parades, are given in large city parks. Dramatic shows, dinners, and balls are held at some central place under conditions affording city-wide significance to the occasion.

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settlement program gives promise of a civic method as downright and thorough as that by which the machines train up their trusted lieutenants.

The federations look forward to the time when they will as a regular part of their work organize large public gatherings attended by neighborhood constituencies of the different houses, before which types of public question vitally affecting them will thus find place in the city's counsels. This problem, like every one upon which settlements are engaged, cannot be solved by any sort of device which may prove successful with a selection of specially responsive people from out the general public.

The elemental challenge of the war period proved that federation is the precisely adapted instrument through which government, in its various official and semi-official phases, can at any and all times call for local information and service. In New York the United Neighborhood Houses, in order to enter fully into the national project, reorganized its own forces. The Chicago federation was quickened into new and vigorous life, while in Boston the organization of district forces, of which the settlement federation is the solid nucleus, was considered sufficiently complete to obviate the need of local councils of defense.

Ever clearer perception of the range of resource demanded for adequate treatment of most forms of need, an important outcome of wartime experience, tends strongly to bring the co-ordinated settlements into more organic and continuous working relations with other agencies for improvement of city conditions. The general councils of social agencies furnish the most tangible sign of this tendency. There are signs of promise of what will be still more significant, a linking of settlement federation, representing districts, with the varied and increasing forms of community organization that are beginning to combine in some cities to cover the outlying sections.

The true settlement policy, and this the federations solidly represent, is to provide from early childhood the kind of psychological training and experience which will develop democratic citizens; and to bring the young person, first of all, in terms of his own keenly felt interests, into that large organism of the city in which sense and habit of citizenship can and will grow. From this precise point

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of view there are two general directions in which federations in different cities are working out their thesis. They are seeking to develop the best abilities of existing resident leadership at individual houses, whether administrative or specialized. This purpose is reinforced by a profound sense of the enriched service which experienced settlement workers are able to render amid complicated and exacting demands. It is also stimulated by the conviction that residential groups at the settlements, as a specifically devised training school in democracy, must discover and engage the rare type of leader capable of drawing out tenement people, securing their convinced co-operation, and bringing them to a real spirit of self-expression and adventure. Skill of this sort is not common. When it is found among people of wealth and leisure it is set apart and honored; the political leader largely builds his fortunes on it; and it is eagerly sought by various commercial enterprises. Its possessors must be encouraged to give their services to making life more romantic for all.

On the other hand, the federations increasingly seek neighborhood representation for those interests in which substantial groups of local people are clearly ready to participate without any sort of forcing process. The results thus gained may, from the direct point of view, seem to lack importance; but considered as the product of inter-neighborhood team work they have much immediate significance and carry a dynamic promise of great things for the coming years.

In its ultimate meaning, settlement federation suggests a city plan through which the city's good shall not only take shape but draw life from its manifold human realities.

CHAPTER XXXV

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ALL residents bear testimony to the change wrought in them through watching, day after day, the ebb and flow of workers as of a mighty tide, to and from the mills; through experiencing the downward pull of an ugly and unclean environment, while finding fellowship with men and women whose opinions and personalities are as piquant, soundly formed, and as interesting as those of their acquaintances in other quarters of the city. The mind is not only enlarged by multitudinous new experiences, but takes on edge by dealing with an actual world of people and events. The neophyte fresh from college finds himself, practically for the first time, in a situation where material is no longer presented to him, selected and predigested. He is forced to deal with purely objective complexities made up of the raw materials of human acts. Education, culture, and the refinements of life he finds to be discounted rather than at a premium. Cherished plans and beliefs are measured by their profitableness under the hard conditions of practical wage-earning life. Often he has to acknowledge himself outclassed in native powers by those brought up in poverty. Gradually he escapes from the binding habit of utter dependence on the printed page and learns to judge for himself. The experimental motive which underlies all forms of settlement work develops and trains a spirit of inquiry and encourages a willingness to follow leads off the beaten track.

Many residents and associate workers, through just this measure of experience, are freed from the incubus of conventional and literary points of view, and learn to work productively with people of other rounds of life. One of the greatest of American teachers notices in college youth who have had the advantage of living in a working-class community a more than usual quality of sympathetic alertness, whose value to them he believes to be far greater than

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anything they can contribute in return. This result is particularly marked among recent graduates whose neighbor instincts have been somewhat dulled by their spending a period of years in an academical background. For a generation the settlements, in a unique and almost exclusive way, have been providing to educated young people in all sections of the country an intense experience of neighborliness. This radiating and interlacing influence can hardly fail of recognition by the future historian of American morals.

A profoundly significant phase of settlement leavening power affecting the whole country grows out of the influence of those men and women who have been in residence for a time and then passed out into almost the entire range of vocations. An impressive list could be made of persons in important public positions who are avowedly putting into practice some of the ideas and impulses which they developed while in residence. Most permeating of all is the contribution of women who, as wives, mothers, and neighbors, are translating into their environment motives which were wrought into their lives by months and years of coming and going in a tenement neighborhood.

The continuous working personnel of the settlement is always alert to spread its messages. The National Conference of Social Work during the last decade has had four presidents from the settlement fellowship: Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Robert A. Woods, and Julia C. Lathrop. Among the head residents whose services have reached out through the country are: George A. Bellamy, Cleveland; John L. Elliott, New York; Mary E. McDowell, Chicago; Jane E. Robbins, New York; Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, New York; Harriet E. Vittum, Chicago; Lillian D. Wald, New York; Eva W. White, Boston; Gaylord S. White, New York. Beyond these there is a group of heads of houses who, through years of close-range experience, have achieved broad and far-reaching influence in their regions of the country. Some of these are: Elizabeth H. Ashe, San Francisco; Charles C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; Anna F. Davies, Philadelphia; Frances McG. Ingram, Louisville; Herbert H. Jacobs, Milwaukee; William E. McLennan, Buffalo; Eleanor McMain, New Orleans; James A. Rath, Honolulu; Bessie D. Stoddart, Los Angeles; James O. White, Cincinnati.

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A remarkable fact about settlement work is found in the long periods of service which these head residents have rendered. All have been at their present posts for more than ten years, and some for more than twenty-five. Nearly all are at the highest point of their power and influence. The question is raised with interest and sometimes with seriousness as to their successors. Undoubtedly the pioneer stage of any enterprise makes its special appeal; but it is clear that every settlement with an established history has a loyal following of present and former residents from among whom a qualified leader will come forward when the need arises. But in general the strong claims of so thoroughly an established tradition of leadership, and the breadth and momentum of the cause, furnish ample guarantees for the future.

A marked characteristic of the settlement is the large proportion of those attached to it even for short periods who have served to broadcast its message, undoubtedly the most vital way through which its motive and spirit have been disseminated.¹ In more formal ways hardly a staff member but has in some degree been an interpreter from the platform, while resort to the printed page has been general and continuous.² Exponents have not been lacking who have reached the large and general public by their writings. Jacob A. Riis, devoted settlement godfather, Lillian W. Betts, Zona Gale, Myra Kelley, and Ernest Poole, to name but a few, have been able to make their readers feel that people of tenement districts are neighbors indeed.

It is the rare fortune of settlements that their chief interpreter is also their pre-eminent leader. Reverencing individuals and the fundamental personal relationships as only a woman can, Jane Addams interprets each particular outward situation in terms of the deepest convictions. The reserve force of essentially sound, wholesome human feeling which lies in almost all men and women shows through and glorifies the procession of saints and sinners that, in modern instances, move across her pages. The veniality of the ward boss does not blind her to his warm, kindly qualities

¹ See Appendix, p. 443, Note XXVI.—Interpretation through Conference and Print.

² See references to literature in the authors' Handbook of Settlements and the bibliography to this volume.

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any more than his good deeds hide the fact that half unwittingly and half knowingly he tears down the fabric of the common life. Through the misguided acts of youth thrown upon the city streets she discerns the upward striving of the child mind and soul. With simple feminine directness she points out the duty of the state to guard and upbuild individuals and families. Whether interpreting immigrants, pleading for a better educational system, showing the reasonableness of peace or the promise and power of woman suffrage, there looms through all her words the vision of a redeemed society.

Moral and financial supporters of the settlement are, in different degrees, affected by its attitude of mind and the tendency to disseminate its aims. Associate workers in large numbers are desired not only to reinforce neighborhood services, but for the sake of the influence upon them and their circles of friends. It was partly to this end that houses were often placed so as to make passage between the contrasted portions of the city as convenient as possible. Associate workers become acquainted with a few aspects of the background and meet representative local men and women. Many are on terms of friendship with a small group of families.

Financial supporters, not less than residents and volunteers, both give and receive. A substantial number of contributors have at some time participated in the work of the house and follow with informed interest the use to which their money is put. Givers who can be induced to do so are brought into personal touch with the department toward which they have some natural inclination. Those not coming into direct contact with the settlement are still willingly held in a net of conversation, letters, and reports.

The proportion of subscribers free to set aside a regular period of time for neighborhood relations is small. While this fact is a source of disappointment, residents have discovered many who, though unwilling to attend gatherings or exercise personal leadership, are ready to help with some of the broader house efforts. The general resources, affiliations, and interests represented by the body of givers are important assets in securing civic improvements and hastening legislation. These allies often assist not only by taking a stand themselves on public questions, but by missionary work

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among their friends and associates. Ramifications of such influence extend far and crop up in unexpected places.

The earnest hope of the founders that after settlements had attracted and molded the physically virile, rough-and-ready type of ability characteristic of working-class localities, it would produce a new type of leaders in trade unionism and local politics has not been fulfilled. A few such labor officials might be cited and a larger number of rising politicians; but given the opportunity of education, youths of this quality do not for the most part aspire in these directions. While their influence has been lost to popular movements, many have brought the results of their knowledge and training to the organization of public education and to different forms of social work. A number of new settlements have been established by such graduates. There are not a few masters of schools, lawyers, doctors, business men, and public officials who are using their settlement upbringing to good purpose. And quite as encouraging as manifestations of leadership, is the already great and constantly increasing constituency of men and women, former members of settlement clubs and classes, who are establishing a higher type of home life, a more gracious neighborhood association, and a more ethical attitude as private citizens toward public affairs.

In manifold ways influences set in motion from the settlement have helped to reduce the total of class bitterness. In season and out, residents convey to the community at large their profound respect for the fundamental moral rectitude of tenement dwellers, and their appreciation of the sustaining and regenerating power of even low-grade homes. They have also enforced the truth that, despite burden and tragedy, working people have great reserves of simple gaiety and humor; that the practice of generosity and kindness is carried to a degree beyond the conception of those who know only the charity of the well-to-do; and that the capacity to triumph over every kind of obstacle is far more common than is believed.

The attitude of the older American stock toward immigrant racial groups, the right orientation of which is now known to be essential to our national existence, would today be less developed, less discerning, less fraternal without the presence in nearly all of

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the great urban immigrant strongholds of men and women whose reason for being there is the cultivation of reciprocal interests between people of native and of foreign antecedents.

Interaction of residents, volunteers, and supporters with neighbors has its sure effect on local opinion. As working people come to know men and women of culture and organizing power, they understand the responsible and humanizing use of the resources of life and are less moved by irresponsible and railing criticism.

The response of wage-earning and immigrant communities to the settlement overture is best indicated by the steady continuance and progress of neighborhood houses and by the increasing amount of responsibility in their enterprises which is assumed by their neighbors. While estimates of the measure of local response would differ, much testimony from accredited leaders of varying opinions shows that the original motive for "bridging the gulf" is finding some real degree of fulfilment.

It is close to the core of settlement principle that the various professions, already pledged to standards of service, should be reaching out to all the extremes of human need with their special training and skill. The settlement house provides a station through which every form of professional capacity may find this wide reach of opportunity. It furnishes special incitement, aids in the origination of methods, reinforces generally what the specialist undertakes, and joins in co-ordinating local enterprise with wider reaching organization. In what is called the socialization of the professions, a fact of far-reaching moment, the settlement has played a creative part.

Education and religion, as in some measure sponsors of the settlement, are particularly affected by its attitude toward the problems of society. Thirty-five years ago economic thinking both within and without the universities was still based on the theory that unrestricted competition would somehow secure the common good. While a few propagandists of the new economics prepared the way for certain expedients advocated by residents, many careful observers believe that during the transitional period settlements have had a significant influence in bringing human facts and motives within the range of the social sciences.

A number of residents have become instructors at colleges and

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universities, and staff members are often asked to lecture. An ever growing body of one-time residents fill chairs in sociology or economics. Holders of settlement fellowships almost always report their experiences either to classes in economics and sociology or to student associations. Bureaus to canvass the student body for volunteer club leaders, teachers of English, coaches in athletics, dramatics, and other activities are maintained at large universities. Students of sociology are sent to settlements for short periods of observation to obtain material for theses or to be put in touch with various phases of city life. In many instances courses are offered in social work and community organization, which draw largely upon recorded settlement experience for their material.¹

It is unfortunate that nowhere yet has there been complete cooperation on the scientific side between settlement and university. Settlements have sometimes been accused, and quite justly in certain instances, of working without proper tools of knowledge, while universities, with few exceptions, have so far been unwilling to apply their resources to the hard conditions of life.

The settlement owes much to the church; it returns much. It has helped to free religion from the crust of formalism and spurred it to humanize its attitude toward adherents and non-adherents. It has served to check the far-gone isolation of the Protestant denominations from working people and immigrants. Religious leaders see more clearly how anomalous it is for congregations to neglect the community most immediately about them. An increasing number of churches which, twenty-five years ago, would have changed their locations, are now courageously holding their ground. Here and there, in such cases, neighborhood houses, hospitably open to people of the vicinity and without embarrassment to any form of faith, are being provided, a step toward recovering the parochial conception in community terms.

Religious neighborhood centers are being established by churches and lay organizations, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. Subject to limitations already expressed, such extension is sound, and it is not impossible that the tendency to combine among evangelical

¹ Residents in Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Louisville, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and San Francisco give lecture courses in neighborhood work at local institutions of higher education.

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denominations may lead to the creation of religious neighborhood centers which, in predominantly Protestant neighborhoods, may prove to be the most expressive and productive type of local organization.¹

Most important of all, the church has come to see that society must be organized for the progressive building up of all the people on all sides of their lives. This philosophy has been expounded at schools of theology where residents have been members of the faculty, before national gatherings of religious bodies, and at innumerable conferences. The social programs of great Christian fellowships directly influenced in an important degree by the settlement, exhibit a marked similarity to the line of action for which it was long a voice crying in the wilderness.

Public education, even more than university and church, feels the force of settlement thought and experiment. Both men and women residents, in considerable numbers, would have become teachers had they not been attracted by the more experimental motive of the settlement. They remain educators none the less. Their influence on the school is toward the adjustment of educational processes to actual needs. The factoring out of special classes, adaptation of curriculum to the child's future work, establishment of relations with the home in order to get a better hold on individuals and to secure reinforcement for the things done in school, must come from outside school organization.

The settlement's developing thesis for a closer relation between education and locality is becoming the accepted one. Certain school men, in their haste, are even suggesting that settlements should now discontinue their work and give themselves to the task of securing public adoption of an enriched scheme of local life built in and around the school. Such hints perhaps indicate the beginning of a new era in the conception of education in which the community organizer will eagerly participate without sacrificing pro-

¹ The Young Women's Christian Association, Young Men's Christian Association, Jewish unions of young people, and groups of Catholic lay people are carrying on similar enterprises. A considerable number of churches have established neighborhood houses, and the tendency is on the increase. The Southern Methodist Church has sponsored a score or more houses called after Wesley, which are doing intelligent and valuable work in the cities of the South, where there is little or no problem of sectarianism.

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found values which the school, however expanded and revitalized, will never be able to provide.

Medical services among working people are decidedly affected by the spirit which has gone forth from the settlement. The crusade to eradicate tuberculosis found a compelling clue in its demonstration that the resources of state and city can be drawn upon to meet the range of district needs. The ever growing movement through health centers and the multiplication of clinics, with adequate curative and preventive medical facilities, is in large part a development of the settlement principle that the issues of public well-being can be met only by working comprehensively from the local base. This point of view is laying hold of the medical profession in remarkable degree.¹

The calling of the nurse has been directly and widely influenced. Nursing settlements, in a unique way, serve as laboratories in which highly trained and resourceful women abstract the ripe results of years of painstaking service and accumulated knowledge. They have been able to establish an increasingly higher standard of professional technique, resource, and responsibility. Under Miss Wald's leadership, Henry Street Settlement stands out as a center of forces in this new field.² Members of the staff have prepared a History of Nursing, and edited a directory of nursing organizations in the United States.³ Some of its residents give instruction in

¹ Two significant contributions to the literature and practice of medical organization in local community terms should be noted. The first is a paper published under the title, Organizing the Community for the Protection of Its Mental Life (*Survey*, Vol. xxxiv, p. 557-60, September 18, 1915), in which Dr. Adolf Meyer points out the importance of the districts and sub-districts of a city. The other is the statesmanlike experiment of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the National Tuberculosis Association, formerly National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, in seeking a norm of medical organization for a population group of 20,000 (Framingham, Mass., Community Health and Tuberculosis Demonstration). The conclusions of the medical staff, about the number of physicians and nurses and the distribution of local centers needed to care for the population indicated, is of great importance. The district boards of health being established in several large cities and the efforts being put forth to federate local health resources should also be noted. Out of such experience something in the nature of adequate norms of equipment and service may be expected.

² See Wald, Lillian D.: *The House on Henry Street*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1915.

³ Nutting, M. A. and Dock, L. L.: *History of Nursing*, 4 vols., G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907-1912. Waters, Ysabella: *Visiting Nursing in the United States*. New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1900.

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schools, colleges, and hospitals. The Department of Nursing and Health, created at Teachers College in 1910, is carried on in affiliation with this settlement. A National Organization of Public Health Nursing, meeting for conference and joint action and having far-reaching influence in its field, was initiated at the Henry Street house.

Settlements furnish a pre-eminent opportunity through which educated women, on the basis of a normal extension of their hereditary and traditional service in home and neighborhood, have been able to win a position of increasing power in local and general public affairs. Women residents have served on important committees of city, state, and national federations of women's clubs, and have had much to do with setting the directions of practical service into which the energy of local clubs and federations have been turned.¹ The cause of suffrage has engaged the energies of the majority of the ablest women residents, and a number of them have had an active share in state and national propaganda. The civic insight, political common sense, and ability to secure results under severe disabilities shown by them have constituted an argument in favor of equal suffrage which no opposition could gainsay. Looking to the future, the influence of women residents in leading the membership of settlement women's clubs and women of the working classes generally to use the power of the franchise intelligently in the interest of their homes and children, will represent one of the most important values in the life of city and nation.

But greater in the total than all that may come of organization and system in spreading the influence of women residents, is the continuous suggestion of their example as it reaches women generally. The wife and mother as she seeks to bring her family into relation with its neighborhood, gets both illumination and power from the settlement. Everywhere the new figure of the woman in the community catches some of its central suggestion from this source.

The influence of the settlement on philanthropy is important in

¹ In several cities, at their instance, women's organizations have used their buildings for the benefit of the neighborhood as well as for their own stated purposes. Saturday evening concerts and dancing for young working people, parties and talks to mothers, and play periods and gatherings for children represent standard forms of such co-operation.

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two principal directions: in the disclosure of needs and organization of services among families above the poverty line, and in the development of the neighborhood as the unit of many forms of social work. Before the coming of settlements, charity had begun to envisage individuals as members of a family. Settlements set out to deal not only with families as families, including all their members, but with family after family, taken as they come in their neighborhood setting. Building on the admirable case work technique developed by charity organization societies, settlement workers have liberalized its spirit and extended the range of its influence to include many new forms of advice, assistance, and education. In so doing they are increasingly proving to broad-scale agencies of reform and progress the necessity of working through local units. As case work societies, on the one hand, reach further out into the field of preventive effort with families, and as civic and educational agencies, on the other, come down to close analysis of their problems, both kinds of service will more and more draw upon settlement methods of approach.

Many forms of remedial work can be adequately carried on only in neighborhood units. Relief organizations in small towns seek to anticipate certain types of breakdown by employing visiting nurses, establishing special classes for children, and even undertaking the special observance of festival times. These enterprises, though they lack the lively background of all-round community reconstruction which makes the settlement what it is, are more and more carried on in accordance with its methods. The extension of service from schools, municipal hospitals, courts, and reformatories calls insistently for a neighborhood setting into which each case may safely be returned. It is dangerous to place physical and moral convalescents in a district not organized to include them in some network of wholesome relations. That institutionalism which, on the one hand, waits within doors for its beneficiaries, and, on the other, dismisses them to shift as best they may, is happily on the decline. In its place is being developed a series of aggressive, well-rounded forms of organizations which both "prevent and follow" those who need their service, and which attempt always to make their work truly educational by eliciting some active response from even the least capable families and the least resourceful local com-

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munities. This tendency is bringing strong, and in a sense unexpected, confirmation to those who insist upon the reconstruction of neighborhood life.

The growth of schools of philanthropy, many of which are affiliated with colleges in large cities, has opened the way for settlements to present the distinctive lessons of neighborhood experience. It is recognized that practice training is an essential in their curriculum; here settlements play a distinctive part, not only through their specialties of service but through the range and actuality of their contact with life. The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, founded in 1903 by Graham Taylor, from the beginning organized its curriculum about the local as well as the centralized administration of philanthropy, education, and government.¹ For some years the neighborhood point of view was represented at schools of social work only by occasional lectures; but interest in the local community has resulted in the establishment of several schools devoted chiefly to training in community organization; and to a number of new departments in colleges and universities having the same object in view.

Influence of the settlement on managers of industry has been real. Conferences between representatives of business and trade unionists were frequently organized by settlements during the nineties, and open-minded men of affairs gathered into groups for the study of industrial questions. Welfare work has become more co-operative and less patronizing, and a definite savor of the neighborhood idea pervades the attitude of many large employers. A growing proportion of business men are now convinced that the best form of welfare work in large cities as well as in smaller places, consists in supporting local agencies for building up sound standards of physical life, adequate opportunities for recreation, and a system for the care of the sick. The new profession of industrial counsellor or employment manager is carrying the settlement demand for sympathetic understanding of the workingman's needs as operative, shopmate, householder, and citizen into broad-scale practice. One-time residents undertaking such work are making

¹ The school was absorbed by Chicago University in 1920. The Chicago settlements, however, are supporting a very interesting School of Recreation, which holds its sessions at Hull House. The Boston Social Union maintains a training class for new residents, running through the year.

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notable contributions to its philosophy and technique. Beyond question the marked developments of the past two decades of personnel services in connection with industrial and commercial establishments owe much to such influence, as does also the increasing activity of general organizations of business men in measures that affect the well-being of city populations. Clearly, also, the settlement as a means of interchange between classes has served, with a kind of underlying power, to facilitate and humanize negotiation between capital and labor. Perhaps the most potential result in this connection is found in the attitude of many of the foremost younger leaders in industrial enterprise, a number of whom have had direct experience of settlement administration, who are seeing their great stake in the solution of the human problems in the organization of industry. And this suggests the part which the settlement has played toward bringing about the changed perspective of industrial leadership in general. Had it been exclusively designed to bring a new influence to bear upon leaders in industrial and commercial enterprise by reorienting members of their families and of their circles of friends, it could not more surely have accomplished the result. There is no way of marking out such an achievement; the reality and value of it cannot be doubted.

The large settlement outlook is based on a gradual development of capacity on the part of the people to create their own collective life. They must come together, as consumers, to procure not only the kind of material goods and professional services they need, but to carry out the recreative and cultural activities that best give effect to their desires. In the long run, however, all these things depend on productivity. Settlement exponents have always looked forward to an increase of working-class participation in the administration of industry; but their whole endeavor is based on the conviction that such responsibility can be exercised only by workmen mentally alert, able to associate in long-continued organization, capable of self-control and initiative. It is of the essence of neighborhood experience that the realities of the new order will come slowly as bands of workmen acquire the qualities needed to save capital, manage processes, and discipline themselves through achieved power to work together.

Resident staffs which have had the advantage of living among

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the people and of observing them on many sides of their lives, find that they possess exactly the same fundamental qualities and desires as the rest of the world, but with relatively little initiative and slight power to plan broadly and deeply. The future, as settlement workers see it, lies in discovering and training groups capable of acting together, and through these reaching ever widening circles. The spread of general education and technical training for industry, supplemented by continuous exercise in the ideals and practice of co-operative action, will accomplish this end. Meanwhile the workman, for moral as well as economic ends, must have a surer hold upon the great producing scheme of life, with its reasonable returns, in order steadily to sustain family well-being and dignity.

For long, settlements trusted for the dissemination of their message to whatever currents of influence might be flowing. Even for the values of broad fellowship and interchange among themselves residents continued to rely upon intermittent and scattering ways of coming together.

Though the national scope of the settlement as an influence was in the minds of residents of the original houses at their first meeting in 1892, not until the second decade of the century were steps taken to bring about a formal alliance for the purpose of collecting and registering experience all over the country and of focusing the power of all the houses for nation-wide enterprise.¹ After three informal gatherings leading up to it, the National Federation of Settlements was organized June 11, 1911, by representatives of houses from every part of the United States.² A tentative program was outlined which included: reinforcement of all phases of urban and regional federated action among neighborhood agencies; development of a clear and strong policy with regard to the complex problems which, with substantial uniformity, confront settlement work everywhere; publication of the co-ordinated results of expe-

¹ Conferences had been called, however, at frequent intervals during the intervening period.

² The constituent members of the federation are composed of settlements and such other neighborhood agencies as are approved by the executive committee. Individuals in sympathy with its purposes are enrolled as corresponding members without a vote. It is provided that the federation shall have at least one meeting a year, and that each member shall contribute toward expenses not less than two dollars for every one thousand of its annual receipts.

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rience in specific directions; attracting college men and women to settlement work; stimulating and encouraging the higher and more democratic organization of neighborhood life in city and in country; and promoting more effective co-operation with other forms of social work organized for cities, states, and the nation as a whole.

The federation is distinctively a working body undertaking to achieve results on a national scale which will, on the one hand, be the result of joint effort on the part of many houses, and on the other, bring its benefits specifically to a large number if not to all. The annual conference centers its program about the continuous work of representative and capable committees, led by those intent upon the development of the subject matter in hand. Committee activity is promoted by two secretaries, both of whom have served from the beginning. Recently a mid-western secretary, and one to co-operate with European settlements, have been added to the staff.

Perhaps the most distinctive service of the federation has consisted in gathering up broadly the results of settlement experience in neighborhood work among boys and girls. Here is a field of national need and opportunity which, to a large extent, has waited for the settlement to open up and develop. After twenty years it appeared that, with experienced leaders in such effort at many houses in many cities, there should be a national taking of stock; that the process would be of marked value to all the participants in immediate relation to their work; that the results would offer many suggestions to practised workers and provide manuals for the use of new recruits. The first co-operative study of this sort had to do with adolescent girls. Contributions were received representing some two thousand club leaders. A summary of conclusions, as has already been noted, was published under the title, *Young Working Girls*.¹ A similar comprehensive method was followed out in a study of preadolescent girls. The adolescent boy in the settlement scheme is the subject of a national inquiry now under way.

The National Federation of Settlements follows, in appeals for governmental action, the principle of restricting itself to the lessons of widely experienced facts in hand. This gives its efforts a definite quality of authority, which has been productive in such vital causes as the creation of the Children's Bureau, the investigation at vari-

¹ Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1913.

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ous points throughout the country of problems affecting working women, the prescribing of federal standards for state child labor laws, the promotion of vocational education on a national scale. During the war the federation served as a unique medium through which important information about urban immigrant districts throughout the country was made available to the government; and at the request of officials at Washington, settlements gave them valuable information and assistance.¹

A very fruitful branch of the federation's service is that which makes available to the different constituent houses the personal counsel of experienced leaders from a distance. Possessing a considerable number of such exponents, but, by definition, holding them closely to the immediate local task, it is all the more necessary that the settlement enterprise should find ways of disposing its generalship from time to time so that the whole force shall, so far as possible, have some of the advantage of the houses most favorably staffed. The federation sees that this is brought about in several different ways. At each annual conference there is a strong nucleus of persons of experience not only in general administration but in specialties of service. Conference discussions are divided between what must be done at the individual house by the single local group and what can be achieved only in broader formations for city, state, region, nation. Practice, skill, and vision that go with the subtle analysis or the broader outlook are, with much prearrangement, brought to bear upon the whole assembly. The gathering is usually arranged so that the entire company can live together for a period of three days with a minimum of outside distraction. In this way fine and full intercommunication is assured; and, in particular, all the influences of generalship are disseminated and count for the most.

During the year, leaders are sent to places where they can be of particular help. Of late the policy has been established of organizing local and regional institutes, under national and local federation auspices, conducted in each case by persons selected for their

¹ It was possible thus to place before the public the attitude of settlement workers generally toward the question of participation in the war. More than ninety per cent of them were positively in support of the action of the government. The remainder represented not more than such a minimum of conscientious pacifists as would certainly be found in any humanitarian group.

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fitness to meet a given situation. These institutes are attended by residents, volunteers, board members, contributors, and, in some cases, neighbors.

The secretaries of the federation carry on a considerable correspondence reaching every part of the country as well as many foreign countries. Each year they visit a large number of settlements and make an important continuous link between the various city federations. They are alert to insure the transfer of ideas and methods. This result is obtained, aside from conferences and institutes, by occasional bulletins and special reports. Numerous inquiries are received, and an effort is made to find an answer to each from the source best qualified to reply. The securing, instructing, and placing of recruits, and the disposition of trained capacity are a constant preoccupation. A broad outlook is maintained over related fields of action, and in particular those that have to do with any branch of neighborhood work. But the happiest of all the experiences of these national executives consists in welcoming initiative toward the establishment of new houses, an almost spontaneous tendency which, since the war, in a considerable group of smaller industrial cities is illustrating afresh the vitality of the settlement motive in relation to present and future national development.

The National Federation took a responsible part in calling the first International Conference of Settlements, which met in London in July, 1922. The conference brought together American interests with those of similar national bodies in England and France and laid the foundation for continuously and mutually helpful relations between houses in these three countries and settlement beginnings in various other parts of the world. Aside from the direct value of such wide interchange, this fellowship among the like-minded, across national lines, on the basis of stirring positive aims and achievements, has begun to make a definite contribution to the forces of international understanding and goodwill.

The settlement looks out beyond its own widest bounds of affiliation upon a remarkable spread of the impulse embodied in it. Since 1910 community organization through school, park, playground and other types of local center, emphasizing now a building, municipal management, now this or that factor in organiza-

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tion, support or program, has had widespread manifestation. Such enterprises nearly always go with districts higher in the economic scale than those in which settlements have place. It is easy to overestimate the direct, or even the indirect, influence they have had upon this tendency. The large truth, of course, is that all such phenomena but mark the rise of an elemental tide. It is concretely to the point that, as beginnings of these later modes of communal association came upon the scene, the settlements of the United States had developed a system compacted for national action with twenty-five years of experience behind their programs.

When the United States entered the war, a group of leaders in the community center enterprise induced the National Council of Defense to accept the suggestion that local community councils be organized on a scale as nearly universal as possible to foster productive industry, encourage wise economy in the use of food, preserve law and order, co-operate in financial campaigns, and help the national government in every practicable way. It is said that more than 160,000 such councils were listed. The most ambitious of these undertakings appeared in New York City, which was divided into one hundred districts, in each of which a local center was to be created. Settlements entered heartily into the plan and, by pooling their resources, effected most of the really successful organizations. While efforts are being made here and there throughout the country to carry over some of this momentum, the National Council of Defense has gone out of existence and the district councils have largely been dissolved.

But the far-reaching significance of "the principle of locality" in country-wide upbuilding is not to be lost. A pattern has been disclosed which carries some intimation of "the whole nation organized for righteousness." Seventeen working branches of the federal government are more or less definitely concerned in the well-being of villages and townships; several national wartime organizations, in modified forms, are continuing to promote communal action for the public good; some thirty-five different branches of the church are setting themselves to bring about, on a wide scale, measures of local association among the different communions for the welfare and progress of neighborhoods. Whatever may happen to these particular enterprises the underlying motive

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is laying hold of the American people, and will more and more give its quality to American civilization.¹

One of the irreducible lessons of settlement experience is that the subtle art of community organization requires an exceptionally high quality of ability and purpose in its exemplars. Sometimes advocates of the community center, in their zeal for the fullest participation on the part of local citizens, strangely lose sight of the fact that such a result calls for leadership which shall be both concentrated and unremitting. Districts able to command expert service of this sort will certainly not deprive themselves of it, however far they may have to send. Even more surely will it still be necessary for localities from which resourceful citizenship has been largely drained, to have the advantage, whether through private beneficence or municipal action, of trained, devoted and locally involved initiative.

It is probable also that community organization under the restricted conditions which obtain among the tenements will continue to demand a round of expedients more penetrating and extensive than find suggestion among better-to-do populations. The settlement has carried through a series of experiments to discover and draw out capacity, individual and collective, on several levels of working-class life and at several stages of assimilation, through which much light will be thrown upon similar undertakings at higher levels of ability and resource. Just as the fullest medical experience is to be had in hospitals, settlement houses will be increasingly important headquarters for the training of future leaders. Those of the first generation are confident both that the new community opportunity will provide its own vision and summons, and that the settlement, in the breadth and height of its human meaning, has established its case for the kind of living center required, however it may be provided.

It may be that through the wide expansion of its neighborhood motive, its other characteristic aim of bringing together those separated by cleavages that threaten the fabric of order and progress will begin to be broadly realized. Only the best aspirations of mind and heart, embodied in all the actual interchange of life, can make the forces of democracy, involved as they are among the

¹See Appendix, p. 444, Note XXVII.—Organizations to Promote Local Welfare.

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American people with those of cosmopolitanism, equal to the appalling responsibilities which almost unconsciously they face. At first settlements were concerned, even though forced to stand in the light of partisanship, to have workman and immigrant achieve reasonable economic and associational foothold. There is still need of the settlement approach to such issues; but the haunting fear of today is not that the dynamic of democracy may in the long run be repressed, but that it may attain its limit with no due regard for the distinguishing values of the higher life, for those finer implications without which, above all, what is human in American civilization could not continue to exist.

The settlement must therefore all the more earnestly apply itself to its great accepted task. This has to do not so much with any of the processes of democracy as with its spirit. A pioneer in constructive social work, it nevertheless is not moved by merely "structural dispositions." It is no respecter of persons. It is not drawn to the "mechanical juxtapositions of individualism"; no more is it the calculating arbitrator between classes. It is not committed to any doctrinal scheme of society, past, present, or future. It seeks only the general good, the widest fulfilment of human faculty, the most creative interplay of human wills. But it is satisfied that good cannot come of itself, or as a mere by-product of economic or political readjustments. As the prefatory suggestion of a vast, enlightened, affirmative adventure in human fellowship, applied at many points of isolation or estrangement, and turning them into ganglia of practised democratic association, through which a genuinely higher order shall be wrought out, the settlement represents some of the focal energies of history and destiny.



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CHAPTER IX.—MIXED COMPANY

NOTE I.—SEX EDUCATION

ATACK of the settlement on problems grounded in sex, as the development of this chapter shows, has purposely been a flanking one. The necessity for taking steps to repress open prostitution forced early residents to recognize the propagandist quality of vice and to ally themselves with the more rigid advocates of repression. Probation records disclosed some of the ways through which youth was being lured to destruction, and clinched the case for recreative opportunities that offered outlet for the physical and emotional nature. Efforts to help unmarried mothers, young girls driven into precipitate wedlock to save honor, married men and women prematurely wrecked in bodily and mental health, revealed situations which demanded plain teaching about elementary laws of personal hygiene and sound human association.

Experience with youth proved beyond question that children and young people who have good homes and are engaged by ideals and causes, seldom give themselves to evil. The surest guarantee of honor is a live interest. A main incentive to evil is paucity of real occupation, caused by inhibitions or lack of opportunity for self-expression. Provision of active exercise to dull the physical urge of sex, participation in common enterprises under supervision to satisfy the desire of boys and girls to be together, and gratification of the instinct for romance as far as possible through plays, stories, music, and the arts seemed to settlement workers the means through which to meet this problem. They knew that once sex instinct is aroused, to control it is difficult. Their prescription, as we have seen, was to delay its conscious awakening.

The method proposed succeeds in a considerable number of cases. Where family oversight is wise, kindly, continuous, the time of children accounted for, adequate opportunities offered for recreation and self-expression, an ideal interest fostered, working-class young people show the same bloom of healthy innocence which is more common among the middle and upper classes. In every neighborhood a proportion of parents exercise such wise care. The proportion unhappily is hardly ever large, and its multiplication furnishes one of the most to be desired results of good social work.

Impossibility of meeting a local situation through transmutation of

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energies set free in adolescence, gradually drove settlement workers to consider the idea of providing instruction in sex. The word "driven" is used advisedly. The impelling motive was discovery of the extent to which children are informed about the details of sex and the evil results everywhere visible of letting innocent children range among dangers the meaning of which they did not understand. Wherever home life is sound and parents live up to their responsibilities there is no need of outside interference. Where home and neighborhood guardianship are nonexistent, knowledge is the only safeguard.

The decision of just the exact amount of information that will help boys and girls to avoid pitfalls without breaking down nature's barrier of reticence, to the settlement staff with its first-hand responsibility, is a grave one. Most residents believe that school and settlement perform their most useful service in educating parents, either through public meetings or in the course of home visits, to recognize premonitions of sex interest in early childhood, to take proper hygienic steps to overcome abnormal sensitiveness, and to deal with emotional disturbance in such a way as to develop and strengthen will power. Such instruction the majority of settlements undertake. Teaching can often be reinforced in its detail by prenatal and baby hygiene nurses and by local medical examiners.

Pending the time when fathers and mothers can and will instruct their children, an increasing belief among settlements is that a good measure of responsibility rests upon them. Residents have to take practical account of the fact that the strength of the impulse differs with different children; that some come to consciousness of sex slowly and are easily able to control their cravings; while others are highly precocious, manifest little delicacy, and suffer from intense inner conflicts. Medical examinations in connection with gymnasiums and vacation houses show that this abnormal sensitiveness often traces back to definite physical causes easily diagnosed and treated. Unfortunately, few parents recognize symptoms of this sort; children, unless they fall acutely ill or come before the juvenile court, make their way under these handicaps as best they may. This group of child problems is beginning to receive expert physical and psychological care.

Meanwhile it is being found possible, given the right kind of leadership, to answer the questions small children ask about origin of life in such a way as not to injure moral delicacy and reserve. Cooking, sewing, home nursing, and instruction in the care of children afford the best possible opportunity through which to impart, reticently and imaginatively, the modicum of information which satisfies the curiosity and safeguards the innocence of girls. The gymnasium and the camp, with boys, offer a wholesome means of approach to the subject of a strong body and clean mind.

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For adolescent young people the club is the most satisfactory unit of instruction. The great truths of sex can often be interpreted as part of what Dr. Richard C. Cabot has so finely called "education of the affections." Club members listen with attention and respect to suggestions about life made by a wise and well-liked leader. The fact that the word is spoken for all robs it of any suggestion of personal meaning, and the easy acquaintance of members lessens inevitable self-consciousness. Several talks which include not only the main items of personal counsel but the large significance of sex to character and to human welfare, seems a wise plan. There should always be opportunity for discussion and the way paved for private conference if desired. For such far-reaching talks it is necessary to have a speaker who is able to steer between the Scylla of centering attention on sex and Charybdis of seeming a foolish visionary. The regular club leader should attend such lectures and be prepared to follow up their implications.

The creation of a high standard of popular thought and morals for adolescent boys waits a finer type of home and neighborhood life. Today the prurient-mindedness of the baser element is in reality reinforced by the abnormal blindness of parents, teachers, clergy, and reformers. Fortunately a new generation of mothers and fathers who look on sex as natural and holy, is gradually coming into existence. These parents will not shame the child into prudery and revolt, but will answer questions with honest simplicity. They will encourage boys and girls to play together under supervision, and will foster sound, healthy, reciprocal activities. Adolescent children, instead of finding themselves the center of trumped-up sentiment will be welcomed into the adult world, awarded tasks within their power, given developing responsibilities, and trained for the duties of parenthood. It is perhaps from this third generation that the nation will experience the satisfactions of life in a community where, in ever increasing degree, love shall extinguish lust. (See p. 106.)

NOTE II.—PLAYTIME ACTIVITIES FOR CHILDREN

For children, the best kind of training in rules to govern relations with the opposite sex is that given by the adults of a family and neighborhood circle which exemplifies and insists on rigid obedience to a sound code of manners. Good form represents moral experience crystallized and made available. It is character latent, ready to be accepted during adolescence by an act of the will. Residents therefore seek to make all their work with children correspond as far as possible to the relations and regimen of a fine and resourceful home.

Playground and game room, story hour, simple handwork, and dancing

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represent the main types of organized activity through which boys and girls between four and eight years of age learn to associate with one another. The program of children's work in settlements owes much to kindergarten philosophy and practice, and the first children's groups were known as Kindergarten Graduates' Clubs. They not only afford recreation but soften the break between the sympathetic reciprocal atmosphere of the kindergarten and the more formal organization of the graded class. Through self-directed activity and collective play the moral values worked out in the kindergarten are projected with all needed adaptation into the primary school stage.

The story hour is an important factor in providing recreation and ideals for little children. The tale supplies information based on the child's own interests, teaches concentration, and lays the basis for finer tastes. At many settlements children are encouraged to give expression to the story's mood through simple marching exercises, or by a free dramatic rendering of the plot in their own words, or through games with toys.

Some form of simple handwork, such as that given in the kitchen garden or little housekeepers' classes, and in simple craftwork, is an important means of introducing children to standards which obtain in real households. In a well-conditioned locality boys and girls make the acquaintance of mothers of their playmates, have the freedom of a few other houses, and store up a considerable range of impressions about family life. The settlement class, while only a substitute, puts the child into touch with fresh reality in personal and household matters. (See p. 107.)

CHAPTER X.—SUMMER IN THE CITY

NOTE III.—WINDOW-BOX GARDENING

THE window-box idea as a program started in Cleveland, and was carried on from Goodrich House. Settlements in Boston have perhaps been the leaders in encouraging window boxes and gardens in tenements. A committee of the Boston Social Union, made up of one representative from each settlement, buys a supply of boxes, earth, fertilizer, and seeds, and employs a supervisor who visits settlements and public schools and gives talks illustrated with lantern pictures. Children are taught how to fasten boxes to window ledges and to obtain drainage, and methods of overcoming common difficulties. Prizes are awarded for the best exhibits of different sorts; and there is usually a concert or party at the end of summer at which flowers and vegetables of high grade are shown.

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In New York and Chicago central agencies have been established for the distribution of boxes and seeds which are sold through various neighborhood centers and settlements. In Philadelphia an interesting extension of window-box gardening is the distribution of seeds, bulbs, and plants for winter growth, followed by an exhibition with prizes in the spring. (See p. 115.)

NOTE IV.—VACANT LOT AND SCHOOL GARDENS

While scattered instances of back-yard and vacant-lot gardening had occurred in 1892-1893, if not before, the educational possibilities in such gardening first found expression at Goodrich House, whence it spread to other cities.

In the summer of 1901 South End House, in co-operation with Boston Normal School, secured the use of a plot of ground on school property, which was cultivated by boys and girls from upper grammar grades. Although the first Boston school garden was established in 1892, it was as a result of this latter experiment that gardens have since been more or less a feature of Boston school life. Later on, residents of South End House carried on gardens in a neighborhood playground.

Within the past few years vacant-lot gardens have been established to help reduce the cost of living. The leader in New York of this form of work was Bolton Hall, and several settlements induced young people to raise vegetables and flowers. In Chicago, settlement residents participated in establishing the City Gardens Association in 1910. In many other cities, notably Los Angeles, Minneapolis, the Oranges in New Jersey, Worcester, and Baltimore, good work of the kind has been done by settlements. (See p. 115.)

NOTE V.—VACATION SCHOOLS

The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in the summer of 1894, obtained use of four public school buildings from the Board of Education and maintained classes in manual training and allied subjects. Previous to this, however, as well as during the years which followed and until the city system was fully developed, several settlements maintained summer schools. In 1897 the Board of Education made vacation schools a part of the school system, and New York took the leading place in this form of education.

In Chicago the earliest vacation schools were carried on by settlements, and a movement for municipal assumption grew out of the experience of early residents. In the spring of 1896 settlement workers organized a group of people under the Civic Federation which secured a grant of pub-

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lic money with which to provide for a public vacation school. The success of this experiment furnished inspiration for a long campaign to induce the school board to establish such work. A year later public-spirited women gave Miss McDowell money to support a vacation school; the school building and part of the equipment were lent by the school board. The year following, the Chicago Women's Club organized a vacation school committee which until 1908 raised a fund to pay teachers, when the work was assumed by the Board of Education. In Boston, where in spite of early beginnings no large expansion could be secured under the school board, Denison House joined with the Associated Charities in carrying on a vacation school, Hale House for some years maintained one in a South End school house, and other settlements have carried on private schools in their own buildings. (See p. 116.)

CHAPTER XIII.—TRAINING IN HANDWORK

NOTE VI.—COOKING CLASSES, KITCHEN GARDENS, AND OTHER HOUSEHOLD MATTERS

CERTAIN young women care only for the frills of cooking; others have a great objection to incidental work such as washing dishes, towels, and floors; still others never try recipes at home. Moreover, it is not easy to interest mothers and daughters together. These difficulties have to be overcome by visiting, by talking with each class member and arousing her interest, and by constant and resourceful encouragement.

CLASSES FOR CHILDREN.—Most settlements carry on classes in cooking and home-making for girls between ten and fourteen years of age, and where cooking is taught in public school the settlement varies its teaching in such a way as to broaden and strengthen the total effect. In many cities school children under twelve years are not taught cooking, and it is common for settlement classes to be made up of children under this age, and of those attending parochial schools where cooking is not taught. For older girls settlement classes provide opportunity to use recipes in full amount, to develop practical skill through repeated employment of certain processes, and to emphasize the relation of the subject to sociability and hospitality through serving the meal.

A real danger is found in the confusion sometimes caused by lack of harmony between the teaching in public schools and in settlements. Differences in method and conflicts in authority have been known to lessen the usefulness of both sets of teaching. Certain houses solve the difficulty

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by keeping instruction parallel. When the lesson in public school is ginger cookies, the settlement class makes sugar cookies; settlement lessons are considered practice work for school, and pupils receive credit for work done. The great aim in teaching young girls is preparation of common articles of food in a wholesome and inexpensive way. Some attention is given to cost and nutritive value and to planning meals within an agreed sum. Valuable practice is gained by inviting guests, each girl acting as hostess when her special friends are present. Public school teachers are among the most favored guests.

FOR YOUNG WOMEN.—With young women, interest has to be stimulated by following their inclinations rather than by attempting a logical development of the subject. Classes are successfully organized about the problem of living on small wages and planning meals and expenditures within a given sum. Groups are organized to study special subjects, such as preserving or salads. Many houses induce older girls to feel some responsibility for standards of hospitality in the settlement and to take part in preparing refreshments for parties, picnics, and summer vacations. Supper clubs have become a device to sustain interest.

FOR HOUSEWIVES.—Instruction for women has necessarily to be even more informal. The difficulties experienced grow partly out of conditions under which tenement mothers have to work, and partly out of satisfaction with their measure of knowledge and skill. Perhaps the most useful feature of class work is the light gained by talking over facts of daily experience with others. Many also enjoy the chance to see a well-organized kitchen and to become acquainted with up-to-date conveniences and utensils. Special courses in preparation of types of food, such as meats, desserts, and vegetables, are often successful in arousing interest. Houses in immigrant communities assist housewives to adapt their particular dietary to American commodities.

FOR BOYS.—A few houses maintain special classes for boys, who are often highly interested pupils, especially where instruction can be related to the summer camp or made practical through picnics or excursions.

IN THE HOME.—Attempts have been made to carry on cooking classes in the home. Tenement women are extremely sensitive about showing their equipment to strangers, and dread what seems a prying interference. At several houses residents have successfully engaged the goodwill of a neighbor who has given the use of her kitchen as a demonstration place.

LAUNDRY.—Laundry classes are most successful with children, who enjoy dabbling in water. They serve best as part of the home-making course in a model flat or apartment.

KITCHEN GARDENS.—When settlements came on the scene the kitchen

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garden was purely and simply a scheme of play with diminutive domestic toys. It has been developed into the little housekeepers' classes now so distinctive of settlements. Kindergartens frequently lay much emphasis on home-making, and teach dish-washing, setting the table, making the bed, sweeping, dusting, washing and ironing, by means of sizable materials and special songs. Such instruction, however given, is valuable in that it awakens the child's interest at a time when manual routine is pleasant, not always the case as the girl grows up.

HOUSEHOLD FURNISHING.—A few settlements have tried in one way or another to bring about a higher standard of taste in furnishing. Some have fitted up model rooms with neat and carefully selected furnishings. The best work of this sort is done in housekeeping flats where equipment is seen in place. So-called "model" rooms, especially those included in welfare exhibits, have not been worth while, the mass of things shown being on the whole less tasteful than those in the average tenement home. Exhibitions of casual commercial products represent a misapplication of time and money. Only where the services of persons of acknowledged taste and resource can be secured, and where articles having human interest and beauty can be provided, are exhibits justified. The most influential of this sort are neighborhood "retrospective" exhibits where people of the quarter exhibit treasures and heirlooms in which they take pride, and where local knowledge gives point and emphasis to what is shown.

PROBLEMS OF INSTRUCTION.—The chief difficulty in building up a strong department of household science lies in discovering teachers. Many settlements are unable to afford the salary of a resident cooking teacher, and are forced to limit themselves to hourly instruction and assistance of volunteer pupils from cooking schools. Professional schools are as yet more interested in their science than its human application, and have paid little attention to training young women for special problems in tenement neighborhoods. There are, however, a few honorable exceptions. Lewis Institute of Chicago, and Simmons College, Boston, have appointed supervisors of students' work who sometimes live at settlements. Students are marked both on their work and on their ability to attract and interest classes. Similar interest and oversight are being brought about in other cities. (See p. 100.)

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CHAPTER XVII.—WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY

NOTE VII.—SETTLEMENT ASSISTANCE IN LEGISLATION

IN New Jersey settlement residents took the lead in securing legislation for better child protection. Miss Bradford, of Whittier House, spent some time during 1900 in bringing about a unified demand from public-spirited bodies of all kinds for a revision of the child labor law. In 1903 a statute was secured raising the age at which boys might become wage-earners from twelve years to fourteen, girls being already protected until their fourteenth year. Through the efforts of the state Children's Protective Alliance formed in 1904, a bill was passed in 1907 prohibiting the employment of children in mercantile establishments between 7 p.m. and 7 a.m., and limiting their hours to not more than fifty-eight a week, though the effect of the law was weakened by Saturday evening and Christmas exemptions. A law prohibiting the night employment of children under sixteen in manufacturing establishments was brought forward under the same auspices and its passage secured in 1910.

In California, as in many eastern states, child labor legislation before the beginning of the century was chaotic and unenforced. In 1903 San Francisco settlements joined in an effort initiated by the State Federation of Labor to raise the working age from twelve to fourteen years. The bill was defeated by the fruit interests. Turning in another direction, settlements endeavored to secure a similar result through enforcing the compulsory education law. An exhaustive investigation of school attendance was made by South Park Settlement in its neighborhood. The head-worker, Lucille Eaves, became a special agent of the State Labor Bureau and studied conditions generally under which children worked in San Francisco and Oakland. In 1905 settlement residents and others again introduced a bill applicable to commercial establishments, manufacturing plants, and street trades, prohibiting employment of children under fourteen, requiring an educational test, and forbidding night work for those under sixteen. The law was passed by the legislature, was declared constitutional by the courts, and has been enforced. (See p. 186.)

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CHAPTER XIX.—STANDARDS OF WELL-BEING

NOTE VIII.—SETTLEMENT MILK DEPOTS, LAUNDRIES, AND SALES OF CLOTHING

A FEW houses have carried on milk depots for the sale of clean milk to families with small children, and candy counters for the sale of sweets of assured purity and cleanliness.

Laundries with set tubs, hot water, and driers, the use of which are rented at a moderate charge, have been installed at several settlements. Immigrant women reared in the tradition of a public washing place, and a few of the native born, chiefly those who wash for a living, bring their work during the coldest winter months. But for the most part neighborhood sentiment is indifferent.

Sale of cast-off clothing, twenty-five years ago, was a common form of philanthropic enterprise. The majority of residents have always regarded the "rummage" sale as a peculiarly undemocratic and unpleasant undertaking. As a rule, too, the neighborhood constituency is above the economic level of those most keen to purchase. Partly worn clothing, when offered at all, is given outright to families which through sickness or other misfortune are in temporary need.

Settlements that carry on rummage sales have usually inherited the tradition from religious charities. Too often they attract a group of buyers who come to know the house only as a place where bargains may be obtained. They are more characteristic of small than large cities. One or two houses sell garments to persons whom they know to be in real need. Others form sewing clubs of poverty-stricken and hopelessly unsuccessful women who repair such clothing and are paid at a low rate or given the opportunity to buy the garments upon which they work. (See p. 202.)

CHAPTER XXIII.—HEALTH

NOTE IX.—INFANT SAVING IN CHICAGO

THE development of the Chicago infant saving campaign demonstrates the high potentialities of intelligent and humanistic civic service under municipal auspices. The city is divided into districts each of which has its local staff and headquarters. A house-to-house canvass is made and a census of babies taken. Meetings are arranged in local schools, churches, and community centers. Information on child care is spread by local, and immigrant newspapers. Department of

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health bulletins are distributed broadcast. Posters in the several immigrant languages are displayed on billboards about the city. For some years the director of the bureau was Dr. Caroline Hedger, long identified with settlement work.

Nearly half of the local branches are in settlement houses. Procedure at University of Chicago Settlement illustrates resources which a well-organized neighborhood house affords in such a campaign. The district nurse, who resides at the settlement, is in charge. Additional nurses and house-to-house visitors are provided by Board of Health and Department of Charities. The assistance of neighborhood physicians is elicited both for their own patients and for those who cannot afford to pay a private doctor. Work of the medical staff is supplemented by appeal to influential leaders. The priest of the Lithuanian church calls women of the congregation together to listen to an address in their own tongue by a local physician. The settlement uses its knowledge of the people's way of life in assisting mothers to establish their household regimen on the best possible basis. Previous acquaintance established by residents is of inestimable value in bringing about cheerful and willing acceptance of advice on which ultimate success mainly depends. (See p. 251.)

CHAPTER XXX.—RACE AND PLACE

NOTE X.—AN EXPERIMENTAL DEFINITION OF THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING

THE American standard of living is not easy to describe, though it is by no means incapable both of qualitative and quantitative statement.

A tentative description is ventured under a few main headings.

Language: The use of English in its living quality as a means of human interchange.

Food: Daily rations of meat, milk for children, wheat flour, and sugar in sufficient quantity so that the strength of adults is maintained and children make certain average advances in weight and development.

Room: A living room sufficiently large to permit the family to meet together, and a bedroom for every two persons, with additional space where necessary to insure decent privacy.

Cleanliness: A bath at least once a week, and sufficient underclothing to permit of weekly change. Indeed this is an indispensable factor in the American standard; one worked out by Americans under conditions much more difficult to encompass than are met by most immigrants.

Clothing: Of a pattern and quality so that the wearer may feel incon-

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spicuous and comfortable upon the street or in any public conveyance or place of gathering.

Association: The meeting of the entire family at meals once a day; group observance of holidays and festivals; a certain consideration in the relations between men and women which is difficult to describe but which everyone recognizes.

Child Nurture: Devoted care for health, cleanliness, and dietary; constant oversight of play and association; watchfulness for the appearance of ability or talent; readiness to sacrifice convenience or substance in order to provide education and opportunity for advancement.

Moral Idioms: Chief among these are willingness to meet with others for creation of a better environment, interest in local affairs, and general attitude of hope and opportunity toward communal activities.

A noticeable thing about the American standard of living is the fact that it is being modified in cities. But America has always refused to contemplate continued existence of a lower class. It has preferred to regard anything below its standard as a temporary stage in an upward process which will be passed through within a relatively few years. This is a unique contribution made by our country to the world and must be actualized. (See p. 327.)

NOTE XI.—RADICALISM AND MISUNDERSTANDING

Immediately after the assassination of President McKinley, the editor of a small paper in Chicago was arrested as *particeps criminis* and deprived of his legal right to see an attorney and communicate with his friends. A short time before, Prince Kropotkin, while on a visit to America, had lectured at Hull House, where the editor, a quiet, scholarly man of philosophic mind, had visited him. Upon his arrest, certain newspapers suggested that encouragement of violence was one result of the liberalism of settlements. Miss Addams and Raymond Robins, then a resident of the Commons, went to see the mayor and asked that, for the sake of the great Russian colony which was only too familiar with the drastic methods used by the police, the man be allowed to consult an attorney and communicate with his family. They pointed out that the worst kind of advertising Chicago could receive would be to fasten the crime on it, which opprobrium should be escaped if it could be honestly done. The mayor thereupon permitted the visitors to see the accused man, an act that drew upon them a great deal of newspaper vituperation.

The "Averbuch" case a few years later presented similar problems. Early one morning a young Russian Jew appeared at the house of the Chicago chief of police on an errand of which no one ever knew the import.

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The city was in one of its periodic panics over a murder that had been committed shortly before in Denver. The chief of police assumed that Averbuch was bent on assassination, and in a panic shot his visitor dead. Members of the Russian Jewish colony and the West Side of Chicago were thrown into intense excitement by the incident. The police made a drastic search of the Jewish colony, put the family of Averbuch and a number of his friends through the so-called "third degree," and aroused law-abiding and peaceful citizens to a state of great resentment. Hull House felt that every effort should be made to find out just what had happened, before the crime was attributed to a colony of peaceful citizens. The work of various civic agencies in building up a more sympathetic and awakened citizenship should not be torn down by crude measures of law enforcement. (See p. 330.)

NOTE XII.—ITALIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN CULTURE

Hull House Labor Museum and its affiliated shops, which made the beginning in this direction, produce and sell woven stuff, laces, embroideries, pottery, and jewelry. The New York School of Italian Industry made a start in rooms furnished by Richmond Hill House in New York. Little Italy Settlement in Brooklyn for some years carried on a lace school employing more than a dozen women. Denison House, Boston, gives employment to a considerable group of Italian women who produce laces and embroideries at home. Hull House very early organized a branch of the Dante Society, an orchestra, and other organizations of men and women for recreation and fellowship. In recognition of its interest, members of the colony, at a meeting attended by some of the men who had served in Garibaldi's campaign, presented to the house a bust of the hero. A Mardi Gras masquerade and celebrations on the birthday of Italian patriots and men of letters were used to cement the finer phases of loyalty. The Circolo-Americano-Italiano organized at Denison House, Boston, in addition to its monthly meetings carries on weekly lectures during the winter, issues leaflets outlining the duties and rights of citizens, and gives sociables which bring progressive Italians in touch with leading Americans. One-third of the membership of the Circolo is made up of Americans. (See p. 334.)

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CHAPTER XXXI.—THE LIVING CENTER

NOTE XIII.—RECORDS

THE passage in the second stage of settlement development from more or less casual neighborly acquaintance to a considerable measure of domesticated institutionalism brings in its trail certain bookkeeping and administrative responsibilities. One does not document one's friends, and large numbers of people who come to the settlement would forbear if they suspected that anything in the nature of a journal of personal conduct was being kept. The earliest records were in the nature of a visiting list. As clubs and classes were established, attendance sheets, minutes, and other data came to be needed. Parents occasionally draw on such records when they suspect that a son or daughter is making attendance on the settlement a pretext for absence from home. Young people refer to club and class leaders when asking for help in seeking employment. After a few years, family records, with a statement of the name, age, and occupation of each member of every household, are compiled as a guide in sending out cards of invitation, making up possible groups, and in general keeping the settlement widely in touch with its local constituency.¹ In most settlements the card system is kept in the office, and any neighbor who questions the nature of the facts tabulated is permitted to examine his own card. As dispensaries, clinics, special schools or vocational bureaus are founded, the types of record which go with such work are kept. These records are, however, shown only to those who have a legitimate right to the information which they contain. (See p. 347.)

NOTE XIV.—SETTLEMENT BUILDINGS

However institutional the exterior, most settlements endeavor to make the inner arrangements of their buildings express the motive of homelikeness, hospitality, and beauty. The entrance hall has the three functions of being a place of introduction and direction, a center which leads to other parts of the building, and last but not least, a base for guard duty. In most settlements one or the other of these functions of the entrance is dominant. Where a building is used by boys and youth, control of the entrance is important. In those devoted to the needs of girls and women, problems of control are less onerous, and emphasis can easily be placed on the room as a place of reception. It is sound practice,

¹ Where the settlements have been long established, people feel aggrieved if for any reason their names are dropped from the mailing list.

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therefore, wherever possible, to arrange separate quarters for boys with a separate entrance.

The chief room in most settlement buildings is a place for assemblies. This room usually has to serve as meeting hall, concert room, gymnasium, dance hall, and theater. Some of the larger settlements, with the passage of years, have come into possession of separate meeting halls, gymnasium, and theater, with the equipment proper to their uses. Such rooms constitute an important part not alone of the settlement but of the neighborhood institutional resources.

Beauty is an integral part of culture, and it is one of the traditions of the settlement that buildings and furnishings should express a certain delight in its manifestations. A few settlement buildings manifest some distinction of design. Within doors there is often more of beauty. Hull House has several distinguished rooms, notably the theater and the dining room. It was a fine stroke that led the architect of University of Chicago Settlement to face semi-public rooms with smooth finished brick of a full deep color which lends itself to decoration, and which at the same time is indestructible and easily cleaned. (See p. 348.)

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE NEW SYNTHESIS OF LOCALITY

NOTE XV.—GROUP ALTRUISM

WHILE it is highly desirable to set young and old at work doing something that will benefit the people about them, group altruism should not be forced. It is possible to enjoin a form of civic and social idealism so high that disenchantment wrecks the very basis of faith and hope. It is not a sound process to seek to call out from working people that type of altruistic concept which goes with special cultivation. This does not mean that social service should be neglected in the club. On the contrary settlements have constantly reported that altruism is native in working-class neighborhoods. It is concerned, however, to elicit and welcome that natural altruism of club members most likely to take such form as will meet the needs and opportunities of the local situation. (See p. 353.)

NOTE XVI.—FESTIVALS

Autumn Festivals.—One or two houses give plays and dances which have the qualities of a festival and act as a kind of setting-up drill for the ensuing winter. It is increasingly desirable that a way be developed by which city children can enter into the natural joys which harvest time brings to country children.

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Christmas Celebrations.—These afford the opportunity to express both motives of neighborliness and the sense of beauty and joy. The treats provided for children are widely varied. A few settlements employ professional entertainers; others send their groups to theaters or public places of amusement; others still have entertainments given by children themselves. There is a growing tendency among older and larger settlements to discontinue presents to all but small children.

In some houses volunteer workers make presents to members of their clubs, although this plan has failed more often than it has succeeded. They do not always understand tastes and needs sufficiently to give wisely; moreover, some club leaders cannot afford to give presents. Lack of uniformity creates difficulties where giving is not thoroughly personal and based on a long-continued relationship. It is common, however, for all settlements to serve simple refreshments at Christmas parties as an expression of that hospitality and goodwill neighborhood people so generally offer to those who call upon them during the season.

Young people's parties take the form of more elaborate dances, although several houses prepare plays to which friends and neighbors are invited. Some settlements at the Christmas dance invite neighbors who have moved away, to meet their old friends. Parties for members of the various women's groups are generally arranged and are most successful in arousing the spontaneous responsiveness of guests. Women's cooking classes give special parties for husbands, or arrange a formal festival, or find some other way for expression of the unhampered sense of fellowship felt at this time of the year. There are varied and cumulative values in good-fellowship which are attained directly and indirectly by the very succession of events, involving one group after another from day to day throughout the holiday season. At many settlements the program begins some days before Christmas and continues until Twelfth Night.

All settlements devote a good deal of energy to the work of engaging men, women, and children more actively in the several aspects of preparation, giving to others, and participation in merrymaking. In most settlement kindergartens children prepare gifts for their parents as a part of the season's program. Older children in arts and crafts classes make articles that are to be used as gifts. Clubs rehearse plays which will be presented for entertainments of other clubs, or for common enjoyment of the house membership; spare the necessary time for making and filling cornucopias which are later used at children's entertainments; and give parties for old and house-bound neighbors. Adult organizations furnish refreshments for children's and young people's parties.

The growing tendency thus to emphasize boldly the human aspects of

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Christmas, to use its meaning for the purpose of dissipating barriers, enkindling neighborhood loyalty, and reinforcing the home, represent a really decisive step in the direction of broader and deeper application of the original and essential spirit of the settlement. But the result comes partly because such observances are almost necessarily undertaken for and by the people as a whole; and by contrast with the rest of the year the season suggests the possibilities before settlements when they shall have learned to pour themselves out with utter freedom into the general current of community life.

Closing Festival.—There is a widely growing tendency at present to end the settlement year with a festival. Instead of merely exhibiting products of classes in handwork the attempt is being made to bring every sort of class or club pursuit to formal expression. This gives point and motive to chorus singing, sewing, dancing, and many other forms of group work, and reflects back something of its spirit into the successive sessions of the winter.

Immigrant Festivals.—In immigrant neighborhoods the national celebration yields additional results in strengthening the relation between the first and second generations; enriching the content of American life; preserving the art values in the popular amusements of our newest citizens, and in making use of that festival tradition and capacity which is a heritage of so many foreign nationalities.

Hull House and Henry Street Settlement have, the one through its Greek plays and celebrations of national holidays, and the other in festivals built about Jewish life and faith, demonstrated some of the cultural resources that are to be found among immigrant people. Settlements in Chicago have had unusual opportunity to bring national groups together, and the education provided by playground festivals has developed bodies of people sufficiently trained so that the arrangement of festival performance is constantly more easy.

New Year Celebrations.—A large number of houses have developed a distinctive celebration of New Year's Eve for men and women of the neighborhood. In these cases the house is open early in the evening, and there is a concert, dancing and refreshments, with appropriate speeches and general singing as the New Year approaches. Former neighbors are gathered back for an old neighbors' reunion. In several instances, through long custom, the New Year's Eve party has grown to be the most important social event of the year. This occasion avoids all chance of religious misunderstanding where there are Jews; and it stirs reminiscent and forward-looking sentiments which are profitably and effectively emphasized.

Patriotic Festivals.—The settlements have united in efforts for a safe

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and sane Fourth of July in various cities, furnishing floats for parades, organizing pageants in the public parks, and taking charge of neighborhood celebrations under municipal committees. One house, with the co-operation of its neighbors and the street and police departments, regularly organizes a program of events which includes a band concert, street dancing, and the decoration of street and houses.

In Chicago the settlements have united in a great field day, organized by the newspapers. Although this broad form of celebration resulted in decreased deaths by accident, it created an opening for very grave moral dangers. Experience made it plain that the great opportunity of the settlement is to organize the Fourth on a neighborhood basis, casting around the celebration the combined protection of police and the moral sentiment of the community.

A few houses have carried on successful Washington Birthday festivals, which are of especial value in immigrant neighborhoods. Lincoln's Birthday is also celebrated, and several houses have found it an opportunity to bring about a better feeling toward the Negro by giving colored people a chance to be heard.

Spring Festivals.—Much has been made in some cities of the spring festival, especially in New York with a traditional May or June children's walk. A number of houses on the upper East Side and in Brooklyn organize open-air festivals in parks, to which children march preceded by a band and dressed in their best or in costumes. There are king, queen, attendants, Maypole, various dances, sports, games, and ice cream. For several years settlements in Brooklyn have held a festival under the auspices of the Neighborhood Workers Association.

Spring festivals in dramatic form are given by an increasing number of houses. In 1905 Henry Street organized such a festival about Eastern conceptions of spring, and in 1907 gave a phantasy called the "Revolt of the Flowers." Neighborhood House in Washington in 1910 organized a festival in imitation of the ancient Greek Daphnephore, celebrated every ninth year in honor of Apollo, which offered interesting costumes and dances. Elizabeth Peabody House in Boston has carried on interesting spring festivals and pantomimes at the Charlesbank playground. (See

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CHAPTER XXXIII.—SETTLEMENT FACTORS

NOTE XVII.—INITIATING FORCES

WHILE the settlement established by the founder headworker is, all things considered, the most typical of the settlement motive, an important and growing proportion of houses are established by institutions of education and religion. Alumni and undergraduates at universities and colleges form themselves into associations and appoint committees to carry on the complex tasks of defining motives, seeking support, determining on a neighborhood, securing a house, and gathering a group of residents. The College Settlements Association, made up of *alumnæ* of several women's colleges, was the first fruit of this method of organization. Graduates of normal, kindergarten training, and technical schools establish settlements to give missionary expression to their knowledge and skill. The most important of the dominating specialties are nursing and music.

Theological schools, uniting religion and education, were responsible for the establishment of several of the earliest settlements. It is interesting and significant that three leading settlements in Boston, Chicago, and New York, which are the ones principally concerned in holding forth the responsibility and opportunity of settlement work as a field for men, should have had their start in theological seminaries. From the very beginning the head residents in each case have stood for Christian unity, and have devoted their efforts, apart from all sectarianism, to the building up of the Kingdom of God.

The first church houses were founded by liberal congregations and tended to be unsectarian both in name and in deed. After a little, however, settlements began to be organized under the auspices of the more conservative groups, and religious education and propaganda were introduced into the routine. Experience has demonstrated beyond peradventure that sectarianism in the establishment and direction of the settlement hinders its influence not only in the neighborhood but throughout the city. Possible volunteer assistants and donors hesitate to invest time and money in an organization whose denominational loyalty they do not share.

The settlement established by a founder-patron who provides building, equipment, and support constitutes a third type. While this plan insures an adequate budget for established work, it leaves the question of experiment and expansion wholly within the caprice of an individual. The fact that the house has the reputation of "belonging" to a person of wealth causes those who might render financial or personal service to hesitate be-

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fore becoming even a voluntary part of a personal undertaking. The reputation of unlimited backing sometimes awakens a desire on the part of the people of the neighborhood to get as much out of the settlement as possible, and to give as little in return.

Lastly, there is a group which has grown out of boys' clubs, kindergartens, day nurseries, and other local institutions. In certain instances the transition has been made with great skill. But in other cases the board responsible for the work has entered into the new venture either half-heartedly, or it has been so wedded to an old procedure and point of view that the whole scheme has lacked the spirit of adventure and convinced democracy which characterizes the normal settlement. (See p. 363.)

NOTE XVIII.—RESIDENT PERSONNEL

Qualities Needed in Residents.—The primary qualities noted in the text should be reinforced by cleanliness of person and neatness of dress, cultivation of voice and speech, candor and truthfulness, accuracy of thought and expression, and businesslike standards. It seems necessary to speak of these traits because, unless the recruit has them, he may be carried away by the oftentimes stronger native force of natural leaders among boys and girls of the neighborhood. Sensitiveness, flexibility, affability, alertness, even-temperedness, good judgment, and sense of humor are well-nigh indispensable.

All settlements are familiar with the sentimentalist caught by a shallow sympathy for and desire to help the poor, but who fails in fundamental democracy, humility and resource when brought face to face with normal people of an industrial neighborhood. Certain men and women are attracted by a supposedly ascetic flavor and undertake residence as a sort of moral scourging under which they hope to be unhappily happy. Closely related to this type is the missionary, the man or woman enamored of duty for duty's sake, and the charity-monger.

A small number of men and women seek residence either to tide over an interim, or to find an agreeable place to stay, or to gain what they suppose will be a better social station. An occasional candidate labors under the delusion that he or she can in some way escape binding restrictions in another environment, but falls away after discovering that an industrial neighborhood is not in any sense a Bohemia, and that the very seriousness of experiments under way precludes the settlement from encouraging or tolerating a variety of irresponsible fancies.

A certain number of men and women without consciousness of special vocation are attracted in the hope that actual contact with human life and need will discover them to themselves. An occasional person is received on

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this basis and allowed to test out his interests and powers in the widest and freest way. In their own self-education, settlement workers often apply the principle which governs so much of their class work, namely, that of allowing the individual to touch life at a sufficient number of different points to discover his mind.

Economics.—A very small proportion of the resident force at a few of the largest and most important metropolitan settlements continues to be composed of men and women who live at their own charges and give their entire time. Such residents often bring to local problems an attitude unhampered by personal considerations; and certain among them initiate and carry on promising undertakings for which at the time it would be difficult to secure support.

At an early stage ways had to be devised to make it possible for young men and women just out of college, and dependent on their own efforts for a livelihood, to devote themselves to neighborhood work. Fellowships paying from three to five hundred dollars, enough to cover board and lodging, began to be offered at some settlements.¹ In return holders give their services to research, and to carrying on various enterprises projected by older residents. As the development of clubs and classes called for persons to administer and direct education, modest stipends began to be allowed for continuous service in these fields. Ere long the staff at nearly all settlements tended to be composed of residents on full salary or specific compensation, carrying on stated duties in education and administration.

The economic democratization of requirements for residence, settlements feel, has made possible deeper understanding of the problems they are set to solve. Most groups include men and women who know conditions under which artisans live through previous actual experience, and count people of widely different fortunes and occupations among relatives and friends. Such residents not only supply a corrective to oversentimentalism, but are able to interpret working people more realistically and to help them with more knowledge. Payment for service makes it possible to seek out the exact type of skill, training, and temperament needed for the development of specific house activities.

The danger to open-mindedness, freedom of speech, and initiative, where

¹ The first fellowships were those granted in 1892 by the Andover Theological Seminary for participation in the work of Andover House, which soon became South End House. These continued only a few years; since 1899, fellowships connected with Harvard University and Amherst College have been steadily maintained. About the middle of the same decade the College Settlements Association established fellowships for research, some forms of which have continued to the present time. These fellowships also required residence in the settlements of the association. A number of other settlements have provided scholarships or fellowships for short periods.

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residents are dependent on salary, which Canon Barnett foresaw, is real and constant. A few settlements have gone down before it. Salaried residents continue to participate in the motive of the founders, supporters, and volunteer residents by taking less income than they might obtain in other callings. As adventurers on the firing line of reform they accept the hazards, hardships, and disappointments that go with a stirring motive.¹ They have a correspondingly independent attitude toward their tasks and withdraw whenever they suspect attempts of coercion by administrators or supporters.

It is obviously unfair to expect all who participate in settlement life to share equally in its motive. Residents should not attempt to force a standard of self-sacrifice which they have voluntarily assumed. Underpaid employes in routine service of a settlement are a disgrace to its motive. Salaries and working conditions for secretaries, stenographers, janitors, scrubwomen, domestics, ought at least to equal the average market wage. It is, however, worth calling attention to the fact that in most houses secretaries, janitors, and the domestic staff make substantial contributions to its work in the form of patient, responsible, and consecutive service of a kind that transcends possibility of payment.

Men in Residence.—More or less definite efforts toward keeping up and strengthening the appeal of the settlement to men, and of providing appropriate opportunities for them are made. It may be said that in positions of special responsibility the number of men and women is about equal; and there seems to be a stronger tendency for men than for women to remain continuously in such service. It is an interesting fact that a majority of men who have remained in settlement work during a considerable period of years started originally with some measure of training and experience in parish work, an atmosphere and background which has seemed to provide for them some of the same sense for neighborhood realities which is instinctive with women. Their numbers are filled out by men who have made more or less progress in other professions such as teaching, medicine, law, and of late years by those who are seeking more human ways of industrial and commercial leadership.

Women in Residence.—A highly significant aspect of settlement work in America is the fact that it has been predominantly a creation of women.² Neighborhood work offered educated women a chance to test their powers

¹ On the other hand, salaries so small as to create constant financial anxiety and the fear of dependency in illness and old age defeat their end. The accepted practice is increasingly toward approximating the average wage paid educators.

² A canvass of 250 of the most important settlements shows residents totaling 1,411 persons. Of these 1,090, or 70 per cent, were women and 321, or 30 per cent, were men.

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in the actual thick of affairs. Whatever might then be said about the propriety of their entering professions and public life, and the possibility of their developing their best capacities and achieving the highest order of success in such callings, settlement work offered an opportunity for ample exercise of those spiritual, domestic, and associational instincts, minimized in other occupations, which are so important a part of women's heritage. In undertaking to re-establish healthful home conditions and neighborhood relations, in bringing about better administration of the more human departments of city government, the enlightened woman is simply making new and larger adaptations of her specialized capacities.

The opportunity which settlements afford of discovering and training exceptional leadership among women, makes them one of the most significant agencies through which they have substantiated their case for unrestricted influence and authority in the larger life of city and nation. The very thoroughness of the achievement of so many women residents has, however, by weakening the claim of such service upon men, sometimes resulted in a one-sided outlook and approach, and made it so much more difficult for the settlement to encompass its fundamental task of knowing people and institutions in the whole round of existence.

Families in Residence.—Family groups are a much to be desired factor in the resident force, because many individual and community problems need the insight and experience of married men and women for proper comprehension and solution. But the proportion of families in residence, either on a paid or volunteer basis, is very small. The chief hindrance in securing a larger number centers about the problem of the nurture of children. The air of working-class localities is generally malodorous and heavy and is in most cities laden with smoke; street noises are extreme; and the difficulties of taking little children outdoors for exercise under even fair conditions are very great. Adolescence brings new problems. Parents are forced to decide between sending children who would normally have a good measure of reinforcing and stimulating associations, the power of which should last through life, into continuous associations with playmates whose standards are limited; or of seeming to put at naught democratic standards by sending children out of the neighborhood to private schools and recreation institutions. But the fact that there are very few settlement environments in the United States in which under ordinary circumstances it would seem wise or just to bring up a growing family, if there are other alternatives, makes it evident that the settlement itself must go deeper into its own neighborhood problem and look forward to such a reorganization of every aspect of local life as will make the coming in of resourceful families a reasonably possible thing.

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There are a number of instances in which families have brought up several children each in the settlement environment with nothing, on the whole, to regret. On the other hand, there have been some cases of serious disappointment in family life transferred to the settlement. It is only fair to say that in each successful attempt there has been sufficient income to provide long country vacations and other compensating advantages.

Resident Associates.—Residents whose principal connections are outside the settlement are variously judged in different cities. Officials of charitable and civic organizations, artists, literary people, librarians, and other professional men and women, even though they give no great amount of time to routine of the house, gain much for their own enlargement, bring a certain informed but unhampered outlook, and create a point of departure into new and interesting fields. Where several such allies remain during a course of years, they frequently succeed in tiding over disturbing changes in staff, in preserving a certain freshness of view which might otherwise be lost, and in keeping up local acquaintance and friendship outside the lines of organization.

Training and Routine.—The predominant characteristic of most resident groups is youth. The founders were youthful guides of youth, and the genius of the movement continues to be suffused with that natural good humor and excess of spirit characteristic of post-adolescence. The cheerfulness that is the note of the best settlement households is, however, very far from being a crude or irresponsible reaction from depression. Indeed, an important share of the subject matter for gaiety is caught from the elementary strength of character, bravery, and hopefulness of people of the neighborhood.

New residents pass through a period of probation and training. Each recruit is conducted about the neighborhood by an older resident; visits to local schools and recreation resorts are arranged. The significance of environment and the part played by local traditions are explained. Reports, publications, and other printed data are assigned to be read. Routine tasks, such as addressing envelopes, answering telephone and door bell, and running errands make the neophyte acquainted with the main outlines of the work. Calls are made in connection with library, stamp-saving service, dispensary, fall and spring canvass, and special recreation events. Participation in clubs, classes, and societies, under experienced guidance, gradually leads to positions of responsibility. Assistance is given in preparing maps and charts, following up the work of public departments, making investigations of nuisances. Monthly conferences for discussion of the principles of social work, lecture courses on local institutions and the tech-

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nique of group work for newcomers, and staff meetings to talk over details of programs create a constantly enlarging body of group experience.¹

Staff workers, whatever their specialty of service, are expected to give from seven to eight hours a day, six days a week, to a program of administration, visiting, and group meetings. Much work has to be done in late afternoon and evening, on holidays, and in the most heated months of summer. Like physicians, actors, and clergymen, residents adapt their periods of rest and recreation to those times and seasons which best fit the necessities of their tasks as a whole. Most settlements endeavor to assure each resident two free evenings a week, occasional week-ends after periods of unusual demands, and a vacation of one month with pay.²

The routine of settlement work, while not without strain, is not necessarily unwholesome. To newcomers the necessity for entering emotionally into the situations of many different people and groups with whom burdens take the place of opportunity, makes for a time a severe draft on mind and sympathy. It is, however, one of the triumphs of the settlement that its system and course of living create and maintain a sufficient corrective. The mawkish gratification that may once have been felt over nervous breakdown as a proof of faithful overwork has disappeared, and it is becoming a settlement conviction that illness is an indication of unfitness, bad hygiene, or short-sighted administration.

Responsibility in the settlement is democratized to the very limit of possibility. Determination of broad policy in the light of group experience and will is hardly more of the essence of settlement administration than the effort to order the tasks of individual residents as far as possible by liberty. Indeed, the flexibility and vitality of the various enterprises depend on giving each person as much opportunity as is possible to develop his own best standards. In the earliest groups a weekly meeting of residents decided details of co-operative housekeeping and outlined the program of neighborhood work. As settlements grew in size and complexity, it became necessary that some one assume continuous responsibility for the larger outline of administration and management. Under pressure of organization, settlements changed from a co-operative society to an institution in charge of a duly appointed executive.

Many of the motives and some of the activities of administration on the co-operative system remain. The more experienced residents still consti-

¹ Hull House, Chicago; College Settlement, Philadelphia; South End House, Boston; Henry Street Settlement, New York, have carried on regular courses for residents.

² In many settlements vacation periods are assigned for the interval before or after summer work, that is, from mid-May to mid-June, or in September and the first half of October.

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tute the active cabinet of the headworker, and the resident body as a whole meets periodically to talk over problems of general concern. In many settlements a variety of matters of practical procedure are referred to the whole group for vote, and the executives act in accord with the plans thus determined upon.

Periodic meetings¹ to consider the deeper motives of the settlement, in distinction from all that goes with its administration, are held at the largest houses. The headworker leads the discussion, which centers on the one hand about questions of broad reform, the larger problems of local organization, ways of carrying the ripe results of culture to the people of the neighborhood, and, on the other, about the re-interpretation of science and literature, ethics and religion, in relation to the residents' personal incentive and outlook. Invited speakers bring the latest results of work which they are doing, or of their observations in other communities at home and abroad. The great end in view in these meetings is the constant refreshment and renewal of insight and inspiration.

Residents' Living Quarters.—Of very decided importance in securing and holding residents are the convenience, comfort, and distinction of the living quarters.² Stanton Coit sought to obviate the need of raising funds outside the resident group and at the same time to secure the completest possible overlapping with the people by living in a tenement. New residents as they came on the scene hired tenements in the same or nearby buildings, each living at his own charges in his own way. A number of limitations of this plan, however, shortly developed. Tenements were found to be too dirty and uncomfortable and inconvenient even for men; for women they were impossible. The Toynbee buildings with their comfortable resident quarters, commons, and meeting rooms, reminiscent of college life, called for like provision in this country. Resident quarters at the smaller settlements are very like those in a home. Accommodations in the more recently erected institutional buildings approximate the college dormitory, except that space is even more restricted. The dining room usually serves as common room for the household, though a small proportion of houses have a residents' living room with fireplace, piano, and a sociological library. In most settlements, however, rooms of any size have

¹ Usually monthly, though some houses meet twice a month.

² "A settlement, if it is to be true to its title, must keep within itself the characteristics of the society from which it has been drawn. It is an off-shoot of cultivated life planted in the midst of industrial life. It must therefore be made up of persons who have had the advantage of culture, and they in their new home must keep around them the things which culture demands. A settlement must not be a social workshop, nor must it be just an inn in which travellers put up with inconvenience. It must be a home furnished with the books, the pictures and luxuries which have been found for life's good."—Canon Barnett, 1906.

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to be drawn on regularly or occasionally for clubs, conferences, and special meetings.

The conduct of the household according to the best tradition is co-operative. Residents meet weekly to decide on expenditures for food and service and to formulate rules. Each member of the staff serves a turn on the various committees which assume responsibility for administrative detail. Other groups find it more convenient to manage the kitchen as part of the general work of the house, charging board at actual cost. The presence of young unmarried men and women in the household creates certain internal and external problems which have to be met by the responsible heads of the enterprise. While leaders are far from averse to the friendships of the socially minded, too great intimacy easily hinders the work which the settlement is set to perform. Even more important is the danger growing out of the tendency among certain nationalities to misinterpret the freedom of personal relations which in this country obtains between men and women. A few houses maintain a separate establishment for each sex, and this furnishes perhaps the most satisfactory solution of the problem. Others set aside a wing for men and one for women, or place the men on one floor and the women on another. In a few instances where the staff is small and conditions are congested, it is impossible to secure even this degree of separation. (See p. 364.)

NOTE XIX.—INTERPLAY OF RELIGIOUS LOYALTIES

Settlements founded and maintained by sectarian organizations generally select residents among fellow communicants. In undenominational settlements the form of faith held by candidates for residence is not regarded as important. Any inquiry instituted is chiefly to discover whether the prospective resident's attitude toward denominations other than his own is such as to make it impossible for him to work amicably with their adherents. Resident groups often include Protestant Evangelicals, Unitarians, Catholics, Liberal and Orthodox Jews, and Christian Scientists working together, in mutual respect and harmony, for broad ends sanctified by their several communions.

While the settlement seeks to bring its staff into the attitude of students of history and civilization toward local religious organizations, there are a number of practical stumbling blocks. Many neighbors and some residents are incapable of religious impartiality. Certain professed neutrals are found to be so only within the field of Protestant denominationalism. A proportion of theoretical liberals, when actually brought face to face with men and women otherwise minded, discover to their own surprise that inherited religious, educational, and class prejudices persist

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in spite of the most consistent effort to see sympathetically and without bias. The more resourceful settlements therefore require each new resident to give indubitable assurances that he or she is not about to use the sacred name of friendship as a subtle cloak for what amounts to propaganda. For the final test of unsectarianism lies not even in the intention of its professors, but in the actual results of their words and actions. (See p. 364.)

NOTE XX.—NON-RESIDENT ASSOCIATES

The qualities of mind and the training called for in non-resident associates are the same as those desired in residents. Practically basic is capacity for democratic fellowship and open-mindedness in social affairs. Skill of some definite kind is a prerequisite. Teachers, doctors, lawyers, musicians, artists, craftsmen, men at different points in the scale of leadership in industry and commerce, and young people in training for such callings are eagerly welcomed. Regularity of service, a sense of responsibility for settlement equipment and tradition, force of character sufficient to control group sentiment, are absolutely necessary. A considerable proportion of young people fail quickly under the acid test of group management and depart discouraged. Many are unequal to the long, strong pull.

Sources of volunteer assistance, though various, fall into several categories. A numerically small but ethically important percentage of men and women, desirous of coming into touch with working-class problems, seek out the settlement and offer their services. Houses which are managed or supported by educational and other organizations naturally draw on their membership. A considerable share of volunteers come from young women whose introduction to the world has been that of fashionable society. Colleges, normal schools, institutions for teaching the practical arts, and schools of social work increasingly seek opportunities for their pupils to make practical use of skill. Some of these institutions, recognizing the value of knowledge about working-class neighborhoods and of experience in associating with working people which the volunteer gets in the settlement, are given credit for faithful leadership in clubs and classes. In a few instances supervisors of practice work are employed by the educational institution.

The fact that so large a proportion of volunteers are both young and inexperienced lays a heavy burden on the administrators of the settlement. Head residents and club directors must be swift to recognize latent personal ability, resourceful in helping young people to find themselves, tactful in pointing out, when necessary, the effect of infelicities of dress, conversation, and deportment on neighborhood young people. They must be able to stimulate originality, induce the neophyte to interpret his problems in

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the light of his own childhood and youth, provide personal suggestion and reading, help the capable through struggle for second wind. They will mediate between the qualities and desires of members of the various clubs and classes on the one hand, and the powers and interests of volunteers on the other.

Training of volunteers in the larger settlements is becoming increasingly definite and detailed. Newcomers are personally conducted about the neighborhood; the character and significance of its geography are pointed out; the meaning of local institutions and the significance of traditions interpreted; effects of national, religious and other loyalties on the character of local life explained and the powers, aptitudes, and antipathies of the people noted. The history of the settlement is outlined, its accomplishments indicated, its hopes for individuals, families, groups, and neighborhood as a whole, set forth. Such information is sometimes given to small informal classes. Some directors of club work utilize the introductory visit for explanations; others arrange luncheon or dinner parties which are addressed by headworker and skilled club leaders. Still other directors make a special point of seeing new workers both before and after the club session.

Training courses for volunteers, extending over a number of weeks, are now being carried on in several cities. Lectures are offered covering the motives and interests which engage children and young people, and the activities by which they can be influenced and helped. Practical instruction in parliamentary law, simple handicraft, the conduct of games, dancing, and management of parties are offered. Talks on the theory and practice of local organization in its broad aspects are given.¹ (See p. 366.)

NOTE XXI.—BOARDS

The majority of governing boards are made up of women, or, if there are men members, women in effect provide the initiative and sustain the responsibility. In those instances where a deliberate effort is made to command the full interest and service of men, the board is formed entirely or chiefly of men. It is, however, a very general custom for such boards to organize women's auxiliaries, which take part in raising money and in building up a strong body of moral support for the settlement and the causes which it espouses.² They maintain, in different instances, dis-

¹ Henry Street Settlement offers an extended course on preparation for club work. Settlement federations in various cities offer lectures in work for children, boys, girls, young men and women, in dramatics, and other special subjects.

² This policy has been followed at Union Settlement, University Settlement, and East Side House in New York, Friendly House in Brooklyn, and South End House in Boston. It must not be thought of in any way as representing an out-

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trict nurses, kindergartens, domestic science centers, libraries, monthly concerts, and like enterprises. A few settlements have organized committees of younger men and women into junior councils, both to enlist interest and to discover and train future leaders and supporters.

Practice with respect to representation of residents, volunteers, and neighbors differs at different houses. Neighborhood representation on boards of managers is unusual. In a few cases efforts have been made to secure such representation. Neighborhood House, Chicago, raised in the neighborhood a considerable sum of money for a new building, and stockholders are represented on the board of directors. In other instances, house councils have been created, to which the board of directors delegate some of their authority.

Volunteer workers are not often appointed definitely to represent their group. The majority of boards, however, include persons who contribute both money and time, and these carry the spirit of the volunteer before board members whose chief contact with the work is through determining policy and raising money.

Residents are, in a few instances, ex-officio members of boards of directors, and in a number of houses it is customary to elect senior residents to membership on the council. There are, however, a substantial number of settlements where the headworker is sole representative of the house group. Such practice is unsound. Both residents and neighbors instinctively fear control by outsiders with slight knowledge of the neighborhood and its citizens, and even less experience in the technique of local organization. Residents, sympathetic on the one hand with the loyalties of the neighbors and, on the other, with the broad purposes of the final authoritative group, should have substantial representation in council.

A restrictive and retrenching board can easily engender a feeling of personal irritation that altogether inhibits the initiating power and vitality not only of headworker but of the entire resident group. The type of council which monopolizes all planning and decisions, which asks a headworker to present a report and retire, usually has to be satisfied with an unimaginative director and house group. It sometimes happens that the strongest member of a council, by virtue of his ability to coerce his fellow-members and head resident, becomes a virtual dictator. An occasional head resident is able to dominate his board and by careful elimination to secure a group of merely complacent members. Such a situation, when it occurs, negatives the whole principle of settlement work, which depends in such large part on the interplay of mind on mind, the building up of worn conception of the place of women. The object of such division of labor is to place the strongest emphasis upon the call for men in such service.

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knowledge through exchange of experience, and accomplishment through team play.

There are, however, a number of cases in which the board, through its committees, secures funds necessary for the work and initiates even the detail of policy. Members quite naturally come to feel that they have a better knowledge of the spirit and method of the work in hand, and a sounder basis for judgment, than residents. This type of organization occurs oftenest in houses where, either as cause or effect, the headworker withdraws every few years. It is always an unfortunate situation when this reversion of authority occurs, because it renders impossible the resourceful and energetic leadership in the fullest and freest exercise of its creative powers, which is necessary to reorganize local civilization in crowded city districts.

The council is in duty bound to be acquainted with the opinions and personal capacity of each staff member. While it is a rooted policy to interfere as little as possible with the right of individual resident, volunteer, supporter, and neighbor, whether Methodist or Catholic, single taxer, dress reformer, or socialist, to think and act according to his own conscience, this freedom has to be curtailed where opinion jeopardizes the free range of service for other members of the group or appears to commit the settlement as a whole to a position which, for practical purposes, will disqualify it as a harmonizing and constructive force.

Members of the council and residents should be personally acquainted and conspire together individually and collectively. Heads of departments in many houses are asked to report at board meetings. Members of the council are periodically invited to the settlement table. Fortunately there are usually a few board members who are also faithful volunteers. In almost all cases long-established residents come to have good working acquaintance with board members, and in many instances relations of cordial character grow out of continued interest in common work. The exceptionally free and flexible relationships that often develop between board members and the house group are a result of the high skill of both these bodies in the difficult art of working together productively in the spirit of moral adventure.

Acquaintance between board members and neighbors is hardly less important than association between the board and residents. Such acquaintance proceeds through reports, meetings, committee service, attendance at special neighborhood events such as pageants, plays, closing exercises, visits to camps, rounds of inspection. Where a women's club is conducted by a board member, which happens in a considerable number of houses, a fine relationship not only between club and leader but between club and

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board comes about. A certain proportion of board members are one-time residents or volunteers. These never altogether lose track of members of groups formerly led by them; and the neighborhood on its part is very unwilling to let them go altogether. A few settlements bring women of the board and neighborhood together to make articles for a yearly bazaar, to arrange the hall, and to serve at tables. (See p. 367.)

NOTE XXII.—HEAD RESIDENTS

In a degree which is hard to underestimate, the head resident in the most vital settlements is the heart of the enterprise. Sound administration demands that in carrying out the policy agreed upon after consultation between head resident, staff, and board, the first shall have the utmost freedom of initiative and movement. The endeavor of boards to limit the service and influence of headworkers to purely institutional activities is one of the most frequent sources of friction. A man or woman of capacity and energy uncovers facts which demand presentation before the city and consultation with leaders of municipal departments and private philanthropic organizations. To ask the one in charge to confine himself to a formal program is to restrict hopelessly the range and growth of that program itself, to cut off the enterprise as distributing agency of many resources of the city for its district, and to negative that large leavening and teaching function through which settlements are in all probability rendering their highest and most unique service.

The extremely complex conditions of the position make it clear that in their relations to residents and associate workers, headworkers should have final authority and responsibility. Every step on their part must, however, be won by that ingenuity of personal adjustment and conciliation which is of the essence of democracy. Where a large staff exists, older residents come to have practically complete control within their own fields, and the relation between the head resident and such associates is on an essentially co-operative basis. While, of course, members of the staff, and also the general membership of neighborhood organizations attached to the settlement, should as a matter of last resource have power to appeal to the board, favorable action on such an appeal would in most cases be considered tantamount to a request for the head resident's resignation.

Among the most important tests, both of head resident and settlement, is length of the leader's connection with the enterprise. The finest fruits of the settlement motive ripen slowly and demand patient and intensive cultivation. There are certain kinds of experience which come only as a result of a decade of work with the same environment and people.

Settlement executives fall into three fairly distinct classes with respect

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to length of consecutive service in one locality. There is, first, the group of pioneers, who caught the original motive directly from the English founders, and who are in surprising proportion still giving the active service of their best productive years. The spirit of members of this group is, on the whole, so much alike that it overbalances the different personal qualities that exist among them. The likeness has not come about through intimate association, because even in the same city such coming together has not been much practiced. Rather it is to be traced to the principle of continuous participation with all one's heart and all one's mind in a certain restless complex of human relationships. It is not accidental that the houses started by this group are among the most suggestive in the country, for it could hardly be otherwise with a venture whose beginning so challenged the capacity and persistence of its leaders.

After the pioneers, come a group of head residents with original prepossession for the work, but not under the spur of new enterprise in an undiscovered country. The size and importance of this group is significant because it demonstrates the quality of the settlement's second wind. Its members have rendered an indispensable service in developing the technique of neighborhood work, and several houses established by such leaders are among the strongest in the country.

To the more recent head residents, who constitute in some sense a third generation, the settlement begins to represent a career. They look upon neighborhood work as a fresh and stirring professional opportunity. They are not so emotionally inspired because they have not been exponents of a new message and mission, have not seen this motive grow from a feeling to a force, and know only by hearsay the toil of exploration through which this result has been brought to pass. They do acquire, however, in marked degree, that democracy of mind and spirit which is at the heart of most of the fine and permanent things that were initiated in pioneer days. (See p. 367.)

NOTE XXIII.—FINANCIAL ASSOCIATIONS

The majority of settlements are maintained by an association, membership in which is conditioned by payment of a sum of money ranging upward from a minimum fee. Some classify subscribers in from two to six rankings according to the value of their subscriptions. In a considerable number of instances, though not invariably, residents and volunteers are ex-officio members of the association. As a rule, these bodies are made up of persons living in the general population center of which the settlement neighborhood is part; and to belong implies a recognition of direct moral responsibility on the part of members. Sometimes member-

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ship is more scattered; in which case it is often augmented by special chapters and auxiliaries.¹ The association, in most cases, meets annually to receive a report of work accomplished and future plans, and to elect officers.

The more substantial wing among settlement workers has held steadily to the founders' principle that support should not be sought through channels suggestive of relief-giving and sentimental patronage. While it is of decided advantage, as a means of extending the influence of the house, to have money represent as large a number of people as possible, it is not possible to sustain the cost of a large plant by small donations. The settlement is therefore compelled to seek the interest of a group of persons who will undertake, with more or less assurance of continuing goodwill, to make very considerable donations.² (See p. 368.)

CHAPTER XXXIV.—CITY FEDERATIONS

NOTE XXIV.—STREET TRADES

IN 1902 a committee of the Chicago Federation of Settlements was appointed to study conditions surrounding children who work on the streets. In July, 1903, the federation constituted itself a committee of the whole to investigate the newsboys' problems. In two days and nights an investigation of one thousand newsboys was made and later a report was prepared and published. In Boston a study of street trades included also district messenger boys. Whether boys are roving or more nearly stationary, whether working or at school, the temptation to street gambling is ever present. Nearly all federations from time to time have made attempts covering the range of settlement territory to deal with this demoralizing pastime. The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers in 1903-1904, and again in 1906-1907, made general canvasses to determine the extent of crap-shooting, and each time brought a serious situation to the attention of the chief of police. (See p. 379.)

¹ College Settlements Association had chapters in various women's colleges and in some thirty finishing schools for girls; Lenox Hill House, New York, has class auxiliaries in the Normal College of that city; and School Settlement in Brooklyn has chapters in secondary schools and among school teachers of the city. The Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Church South contributes a proportion of the expenses of various Wesley Houses in different cities, and reserves authority to appoint the head residents of each settlement.

² A useful type of financial co-operation is that given by such organizations as the Junior League in New York and the Sewing Circle League in Boston, associations, made up of young society women, which appropriate money for certain specialties of settlement service. The Junior League has made possible several interesting and useful settlement experiments.

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NOTE XXV.—COMMERCIAL AMUSEMENT RESORTS

The Boston Social Union in 1905 made a special study of commercial amusement resorts, and in co-operation with the Watch and Ward Society secured regulation of dance halls, theaters, and skating rinks.

Sunday recreation in its various aspects is a periodic matter of settlement discussion. The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers voted in 1908-1909 to support a movement to open athletic fields on Sundays, and the Boston Social Union (1909-1910) made a careful survey of the forms of play observed about the city on warm days. As a result of such observations there is increasing sentiment in favor of permitting active play as a means of reducing gambling and its allied vices.

As for motion picture shows, the Boston Social Union (1905-1906) prevented the granting of licenses to several places, and has had part in securing adequate exits, better lighting of the auditoriums, and provisions to lessen danger of eye-strain from flickering films. In New York the Association of Neighborhood Workers has co-operated directly with the National Board of Censorship. The problem continues, however, to be among the principal ones with which the federations have to deal. The Boston Social Union assisted (1919-1921) in a successful attempt to secure state censorship of motion picture films. (See p. 379.)

CHAPTER XXXV.—NATIONAL OUTLINES

NOTE XXVI.—INTERPRETATION THROUGH CONFERENCE AND PRINT

IN NEW YORK, during the late eighties and early nineties, residents at Neighborhood Guild and at College Settlement, gathered together school teachers, nurses, and volunteer settlement workers to consider various phases of East Side life. As early as 1892 the residents of South End House and Denison House, in Boston, organized special public conferences on trade unions, on social Christianity, and other related subjects. In 1893 a Social Science Club was formed to discuss the labor movement. In Chicago, both Hull House and the Commons carried on for some years conferences which brought together settlement workers, teachers, clergymen, economists, labor leaders, and business men. The Commons organized periodic gatherings of students from theological seminaries and colleges before which labor leaders and other representatives of workingmen's organizations were invited to speak. The "free floors" of those days at various settlements also constituted a continuous conference which attracted people from all over the city.

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The *College Settlement News*, *Kingsley House Record*, the *Chicago Commons*, and the *Neighborhood News* of Brooklyn Guild, reached beyond the immediately contributing constituency to a considerable reading public. By far the most influential figure in spreading the settlement point of view by means of journalism is Graham Taylor. As one phase of his many-sided activities, he developed the *Chicago Commons* from a house news sheet into an organ of the settlement, then merged it into the original *Charities and the Commons*, and was until recently one of the contributing editors to the fully developed *Survey*. Here, regularly and frequently, he reviews the progress of the labor movement. From week to week also he presents in the *Chicago Daily News* to a great newspaper constituency a practical and aggressive interpretation of the city's public life. His articles in several of the religious journals have reached large numbers of persons who are moved by the ethical interpretation of current events. (See p. 388.)

NOTE XXVII.—ORGANIZATIONS TO PROMOTE LOCAL WELFARE

Departments of the National Government Concerned in the Well-being of Villages and Towns:

Department of Agriculture—States Relation Division.

Department of Interior

Bureau of Education: Education Extension; Americanization Division.

Department of Labor

Bureau of Naturalization; Children's Bureau; Commission on Living Conditions; Homes Registration Service; Negro Economics Division; United States Employment Service.

Treasury Department

War Savings Division; United States Public Health Service.

Council of National Defense—Field Division.

Department of Agriculture—Bureau of Markets.

Department of Commerce—Waste Reclamation Service.

Bureau of Efficiency.

United States Post Office Department.

Wartime Organizations Engaged in Local Community Welfare:

Community Service has succeeded War Camp Community Service.

The Red Cross is in many places carrying on a constructive local program.

The Y. W. C. A., notably the Y. M. C. A. and the Knights of Columbus, are continuing several phases of such broader service.

The Churches and the Local Community:

Information concerning the work of the different denominational social service commissions can be obtained from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

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